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New Directions in the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Frank Moore Cross

In 1947 the first manuscripts were found in the cliffs of the Jordan Rift, the scrolls from Cave 1 near the ruins of Qumrân on the Dead Sea. In 1962 the latest discovery of documents from the Rift came to light, the Samaria legal papyri of the fourth century B.C.E., from the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh. In the interval, manuscripts and papyri were found in ten additional caves in the vicinity of Qumrân; in the great caves to the south of Qumrân: the Wâdi-Murabba’ât, the Nahal Se’elim, and the Nahal Hever; and in the ruins of Khirbet Mird. Most recently of all, manuscripts have been dug up from the ruins of the diamond-shaped fortress of Masada.

In another generation each of these finds would have been called sensational. Now thirty-five years of discovery and research are past. I think it is fair to say that another thirty-five years will pass before the first exploratory investigation of these “treasures of darkness” will be completed. Almost each year a large new volume of unpublished material comes into print, and this will be so for many years to come. Personally I am in the process of completing three volumes of unpublished manuscripts and papyri. So the study of the manuscripts from the Dead Sea is very much in progress.

The impact of these years of discovery and study will be enormous: (1) upon our understanding of the history of the biblical text, (2) upon our understanding of the development of biblical religion, and (3) upon our understanding of the emergence of the Jewish and Christian strains of faith which claim the Bible as their heritage.

HISTORY OF THE BIBLICAL TEXT

Remnants of nearly two hundred biblical manuscripts have been found in the Jordan Rift. They fall into two groups. The major corpus, some 170 manuscripts, stem from the Qumrân community and date
between 250 B.C.E. and 68 C.E. They show no influence that we can detect of the Rabbinic Recension and canon, which is the direct ancestor of our traditional Hebrew Bible, the basis of all English translations. A second group derives from the Jewish rebels of Masada and other Zealots of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome (132–35 C.E.); this group furnishes only exemplars of the Rabbinic Recension. Thanks to the evidence of the two groups of manuscripts and other new data, we can now specify the date of the fixation of the text and with it the promulgation of the Rabbinic Recension. These events took place in the era of Hillel, at the beginning of the common era. There is also hard evidence that the fixing of the Pharisaic canon—the received Hebrew canon—was part of the same program, perhaps even the work of Hillel himself. The fixation of the text and the fixation of the canon were in fact two aspects of a single endeavor. From the manuscripts of Qumrān in particular we have learned that in the case of a biblical work more than one textual tradition or textual family, each with its special variants, existed in the various Jewish communities. The rabbis were forced to choose between them. Equally important, there were in the case of certain biblical works different editions extant, some strikingly different in length and content. Notable are the editions of Jeremiah, one long, one short; two editions of the Psalter, one Persian, one Hellenistic; two editions of the Chronicler’s work, one including Ezra, one including both Ezra and Nehemiah. In the case of Daniel, there was a whole Daniel literature of which the canonical Daniel is a single part. The rabbis selected preferred texts and selected editions of included books, excluded short or long editions of works selected, excluded wholly other works with claims of sacred status. The activities of the rabbis were directed against books or traditions which contained rival doctrines of cult and calendar, alternate legal dicta and theological doctrines, and especially against the speculative systems and mythological excesses of certain apocalyptic schools and Gnostic sects. The selection of canonical books was based on certain principles. Interestingly enough, books attributed to prophets or patriarchs before Moses were excluded: the Enoch literature and works written in the name of Abraham and other patriarchs. The legitimate succession of prophets was traced from Moses to figures of the Persian period. Late works were excluded, with the exception of Daniel, which presumably the rabbis attributed to the Persian period, though they truncated it.

This program of establishing an authoritative text and canon probably is recalled in the saying of Sukkah 20a:
Study of The Dead Sea Scrolls

When the Torah was forgotten in Israel, Ezra came from Babylon and established it; and when it was once again forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came up and established it.

I should say that there is no evidence whatever of the influence of the Pharisaic text and canon on the “biblical” library of Qumrân. At Qumrân non-Rabbinic text-types and editions survive alongside textual traditions and editions adopted by the rabbis. Hence at Qumrân we have a glimpse at a more fluid stage of biblical tradition which existed before the standardization of the Pharisaic Bible and are provided with vast new resources which permit us to penetrate to older stages in the history of the Hebrew Bible and enable us to write the early history of the developing biblical text.

Out of these riches, let me illustrate with a passage from a manuscript of Samuel from Cave 4 Qumrân (unpublished). In the book of Samuel, in the account of the rise of Saul to kingship, the author focuses on an episode in which Saul wins a victory over Nahash, king of the Ammonites. The story is told laconically in the eleventh chapter of 1 Samuel. The traditional text reads:

Nahash, the Ammonite went up and laid siege to Jabesh-Gilead. All of the men of Jabesh-Gilead said to Nahash, “Make a covenant with us and we shall become your subjects.” Nahash the Ammonite replied to them, “On this condition I shall make a covenant with you, that all your right eyes be gouged out, that I may bring ignominy on all Israel.” The elders at Jabesh said to him: “Give us seven days to send messengers throughout the territory of Israel. If no one rescues us, we shall surrender to you.”

The historian then describes the upshot. Saul rallied the militia of Israel, crossed the Jordan, and met Nahash and the Ammonites in battle. He was overwhelmingly victorious, delivered Jabesh-Gilead, demonstrated thereby his leadership, and then was confirmed as Israel’s first king.

A bit of ancient history. There are obscurities in the account. Why did Nahash suddenly attack Jabesh-Gilead, an Israelite city allied with the house of Saul which lay far north of the boundary claimed by the Ammonites? We are not told. Why did Nahash require mutilation of the able men of a city prepared to become his slaves? Nahash by his behavior brought defeat on his own head, and more serious for Ammon’s future proved to be the catalyst which united Israel and initiated forces which would lead under Saul’s successor David to the rise of the Israelite empire to which Ammon became subject. The episode deserves scrutiny.
A manuscript of Samuel of the first century B.C.E. from Cave 4 Qumrān contains a long addition introducing chapter 11 of 1 Samuel. Let me translate it:

[Nahash, king of the Ammonites sorely oppressed the children of Gad and the children of Reuben, and he gouged out all their right eyes and struck terrors and dread] in Israel. There was not left one among the sons of Israel bey[ond] J[ordan who]se right eye was not put out by Nahash king of the children of [Ammon, save 7000 men who fled from] the children of Ammon and entered [Jabesh-Gilead. About a month later, Nahash the Ammonite went up and besieged] Jabesh-[Gilead.] All the men of Jabesh said... [The text continues as in our Bible.]

Close examination of the extra paragraph makes evident that it once belonged to the original text of Samuel. I shall not go into detailed evidence here, but it seems clear that the paragraph was lost owing to a scribal lapse—a scribe’s eye jumped from one paragraph break to another, both beginning with Nahash as subject. Now that we have the paragraph we can also recognize that Josephus had it in his Bible and quoted part of it in his Antiquities.

All in all, the text preserved in 4QSAm\(^a\) makes excellent narrative and historical sense as part of the book of Samuel. Nahash, leading a resurgent Ammonite nation, reconquered land long claimed and fought over with the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and punished his old enemies and sometime subjects with a systematic policy of mutilation. Mutilation we know was the standard treatment meted out to rebels, or to enemies of long standing, or to violators of treaty. Those Israelite warriors who survived defeat at the hands of Nahash’s forces, some seven thousand in number, fled and found haven to the north of the traditional border (at the River Jabbok) in the Gileadite city of Jabesh. A month or so after their escape, Nahash determined to subjugate Jabesh-Gilead for sheltering his escaped “subjects.” This was his motivation or excuse for striking far north of his claimed boundaries, and so he marched to the city and besieged it. When asked for terms for a treaty by the men of Jabesh, he insisted on the same harsh punishment that he had inflicted on Gad and Reuben, the gouging out of the right eye of every able-bodied man. But he thereby sealed his own fate. Saul of Benjamin, enraged by news of the affair and “seized by the spirit,” rallied elements of the western tribes, crossed the Jordan, and “slaughtered the Ammonites until the heat of the day.” His great victory brought or extended recognition of his kingship throughout Israel.

To add a paragraph to the text of the Bible is in itself not an event likely to shake the foundations of the church or synagogue. We are
happy it is not an eleventh commandment. It is, however, one small illustration of biblical discoveries to come.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL RELIGION

Under this heading one could discourse on the history of Hebrew psalmody. We now have a large corpus of Hellenistic hymns with which we can compare the older canonical Psalter. We could speak about the development of slave law in Persian Palestine on the basis of the Samaria papyri, or lecture on new constructions of the history of the Restoration after the Exile based in large part on data from new documents. And so on. I have chosen to comment on our emerging view of the apocalyptic movement and its place in the history of biblical religion.

The term *apocalyptic* usually conjures up in our mind the book of Daniel, a late, full-blown exemplar of the apocalyptic literature. Some will remember the apocalypse in the book of Isaiah—chapters 24–27—whose date has been debated by several generations of biblical scholars. From Qumrān has come an immense literature including apocalypses and works colored by apocalyptic eschatology.

These apocalyptists saw world history in the grip of warring forces, God and Satan, the spirits of truth and error, light and darkness. The struggle of God with man, and of man with sin, evil, and death became objectified into a cosmic struggle. Dualistic themes of archaic myth were transformed into historical myths. The world, captive to evil powers and principalities which have been given authority in the era of divine wrath, can be freed only by the divine might. But the apocalypticist saw the day of God’s salvation and judgment dawning. The old age had moved to its allotted end, and the age of consummation was at hand, the age of the vindication of the elect and the redemption of the world. For the apocalypticist, events of his day signaled the approach of the end. The final war, Armageddon, had begun. The Messiah was about to appear “bringing the sword.” The Satanic forces, now brought to bay, had broken out in a final, defiant convulsion, manifest in the persecutions, temptations, and tribulations of the faithful. In short, the apocalypticist lived in a world in which the sovereignty of God was the sole hope of salvation, and in the earnestness of his faith and the vividness of his hope he was certain that God was about to act.

Apocalypticism has been regarded as a late, short-lived phenomenon in Judaism. This notion is dissolving in the light of massive new data and careful research. The earliest Enoch literature, for example,
dated to the Roman or at earliest the Hellenistic period a generation ago, must now be pushed back into the late Persian period. We actually have manuscripts from about 200 B.C.E. Studies of early biblical apocalyptic, notably the Isaianic Apocalypse, now attribute it to the sixth century. Indeed, the first strains of apocalyptic dualism and eschatology arise with the decline of prophecy in the sixth and fifth centuries. We are now forced to recognize that "proto-apocalyptic" and "apocalyptic" works reflect a movement of more than half a millennium in duration.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, apocalypticism played little or no role in scholars' descriptions of the history of Israelite religion. The Zeitgeist stemmed from an evil conjunction of Luther and Hegel. In idealistic models of biblical religion then in vogue, apocalypticism had no place. It was treated as an idiosyncratic and impertinent product of a few Jewish seers, a fringe phenomenon. One may compare the treatment of Jewish mysticism by historians before the present century.

For Christian scholars of this point of view, the history of biblical religion moved according to a dialectic which opposed the free, ethical, and historical spirit of biblical prophecy to law and the legal spirit which marked post-Exilic Judaism. According to this view, survival of the free and gracious spirit of prophecy was to be found of course only in New Testament Christianity. Hence Christian scholars were inclined to bypass apocalyptic in an attempt to trace direct continuities between prophecy and primitive Christianity. Jewish scholars, it must be said, shared the prevailing distaste for apocalyptic, viewing it as sectarian—even if a bit had slipped into the Hebrew canon. Indeed, influenced by the anti-apocalyptic and anti-Gnostic reaction of Rabbinic Judaism, they read Tannaitic Judaism back into the Hellenistic, if not into the Persian era. As late as 1929, George Foote Moore was able to contend:

Inasmuch as these writings [the apocalypses] have never been recognized by Judaism, it is a fallacy of method for the historian to make them a primary source for the eschatology of Judaism, much more, to contaminate its theology with them.

Thus all joined hands in a conspiracy of silence on the subject of apocalypticism.

In the last generation, apocalypticism was rediscovered, so to speak, in its special import for the study of Christian origins. The rich resources from Qumrân confirm and reinforce these new insights. Indeed, the study of Christian origins has been transformed by new
data from the literature of the library of Qumrân, and the pace of these lines of research will increase as new manuscripts are published.

The movements of John the Baptist and of Jesus of Nazareth must be redefined as apocalyptic rather than prophetic in their essential character. Gershom Scholem shocked our generation by his demonstration of the survivals of apocalyptic mysticism in the era of Rabbi Akiba, and in the coming generation I venture to say these insights into the importance of apocalypticism for both primitive Christianity and early Judaism will be confirmed and extended.

The apocalyptic communities of the last centuries before the common era were a major force in the complex matrix in which both Christianity and Tannaitic Judaism came to birth. We are now beginning to recognize the enormous distance through which Judaism evolved, from the origins of the Pharisees in the multi-hued religious milieu of the Hellenistic era down to the oral codification of the Mishnah. This should not be surprising if we remember that in a smaller number of years the Christian community had moved from its Jewish sectarian origins in Jerusalem to Nicene orthodoxy in Constantine’s Byzantium.

It is my perception that in the years ahead the apocalyptic movement will be recognized as a major phase in the evolution of biblical religion flourishing between the death of prophecy in its institutionalized form in the sixth century B.C.E. and the rise of Rabbinic Judaism, Gentile Christianity, and Gnosticism in the first and second centuries C.E. In this interval of more than five hundred years, Jewish apocalypticism was a mainstream of religious life as well as speculation. Nonapocalyptic strains existed alongside, but the apocalyptic movement became in fact one of the ancestors of both Pharisaic Judaism and Jewish Christianity as well as the Gnostic syncretism which infected both in the first centuries of the common era.

I venture to say that the descriptions of the Jewish parties of the Hellenistic and Roman period found in our histories and handbooks will become complex and nuanced replacing the simple, neat images of the past. The Saduces whom we have pictured as religious conservatives and worldly bureaucrats now prove to have spawned a radical apocalyptic wing at Qumrân. The Pharisees also appear to have been variegated within their communes (habûrôt), accepting in their canon such apocalyptic works as 2 Zechariah and Daniel, rejecting others: Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. By and large they appear as dominated by moderates. Their radical elements broke off to join the Zealot movement; their conservative members were overcome by the school of Hillel.
Let me illustrate my general remarks with concrete detail. The radical legalism and apocalypticism of the Essene community at Qumrān has come to be better understood thanks to the publication several years ago of the great Temple Scroll from Cave 11 Qumrān. Its English edition is now in press.

We have known from earlier published documents that the Essene sect in its everyday life anticipated the new age. They were priests before the altar of God, in effect, warriors in the last holy war, fighting alongside the holy angels. This meant in legal terms that they eschewed all uncleanness—concretely many refrained from sexual intercourse—and for the duration of the last times were celibate.

In the Temple Scroll it is made clear that these priestly and military laws of uncleanness were to be applied to the temple, and mirable dictu to the holy city as a whole. Effectively this meant that women could not live in Jerusalem. Men living in Jerusalem led by priests could not desecrate the city, so that acts which render one unclean had to be performed outside the holy city. In such circumstances priestly continence or celibacy was imposed or recommended. Latrines were to be 3000 cubits (nearly a mile) outside the city, and not to be used on the Sabbath. The lame, blind, or diseased with unclean ailments were excluded not merely from the temple but also from the city.

Little wonder these Essenes were persecuted and forced to live in the desert. In any case, this radical combination of eschatology and priestly laws of defilement was rejected by the Pharisees. In the New Testament there are two opposing streams. In a polemical parable Jesus invited the blind and lame, the poor and unclean into the banquet of the Messiah. On the other hand, in Pauline Christianity there is a strong tendency toward apocalyptic celibacy as constituting the highest life.

A generation ago, the counsel of celibacy in Christianity was attributed to the influence of its Greek environment. The celibacy of the Jewish sect of Essenes appeared to be a contradiction of everything Jewish. Now the picture is at once clarified and complicated. For despite their strategic celibacy, the Essenes regarded God's greatest blessing to be "Be fruitful, multiply and fill the earth."

An illustration of a different sort:

From Cave 4 Qumrān comes an Aramaic apocalypse belonging to the Daniel literature or, if one prefers, Pseudo-Daniel. It is to be published by J. T. Milik. A key section which has been quoted publicly concerns evidently the Messiah to come. It reads as follows:
In the Gospel of Luke 1:32 are the words:

He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David and his father.

Luke 1:35 adds the title "Son of God."

These titles of the Davidic Messiah in Luke have given rise to controversy. Most scholars have said they are drawn by Luke or by Luke's Christian source directly from the Hebrew Bible. In 2 Sam. 7:14, Ps. 89:26–27, Isa. 9:6–7, and Ps. 2:7, the Davidic king is called "son" of the deity, that is, the adopted "Son of God." Other scholars have argued that these titles must be quoted from a Jewish hymn—their Semitic flavor is strong.

The day has been carried, however, by the argument that nowhere in pre-Christian Jewish literature is the Messiah-to-come called "Son of the Most High" or "Son of God." Thus the connecting of the old royal language of the Bible and the Messiah is evidently Christian and obviously late. So much for arguments from silence and scholarly consensus.

Luke or his source has, in fact, quoted almost verbatim a pre-Christian Jewish apocalypse belonging to the Daniel cycle. What later Christian writers did with the title "Son of God" is another story.

So much for illustrations.

The discoveries of the Jordan Rift, above all at Qumrân, have properly created a new phase in the study of the history of late biblical religion and of Jewish sectarianism. The assimilation of these data will be slow. Older scholars will prefer to ignore the materials: the ferment they produce is too strong for their stomachs. I have heard Yigael Yadin read diatribes against his colleagues accusing them of ignoring the Temple Scroll he published. Of course it is uncomfortable to be told: here is a new scroll—go rewrite all your books. Or here is a new Jewish library of the third to first centuries; examine all your old presuppositions, retool, and start afresh. New directions in research will rest largely on a young generation of scholars. I envy those who will live to read the new syntheses the future will bring into being.
The Wager by Eugene Delacroix
“Den Göttern gleich ich nicht”:
The Nature of Faust’s Salvation

Garold N. Davis

Den Göttern gleich’ ich nicht! Zu tief ist es gefühlt; 
Dem Wurme gleich’ ich, der den Staub durchwühlt . . .

I am not like the gods! Feel it I must. 
I’m like the worm that burrows through the dust . . .

(Lines 652-53)

On seeing one’s cherished philosophy (or theology) echoed and 
artistically enhanced by a highly respected writer, one feels a sense of 
satisfaction. This satisfaction may derive from the slightly smug attitude that all great minds independently reach the same conclusions, or 
from the more humble attitude that all truth ultimately descends from 
the same source. In either case, a piece of great literature that fits 
appropriately into a gospel context is a triple blessing. One enjoys the 
aesthetic pleasure and intellectual enrichment great literature always 
provides, and, in addition, one may experience that blessed mood one often longs for (but does not always receive) while participating in the 
more direct forms of spiritual communion: worship, prayer, or ponder-
dering the scriptures.

Goethe’s Faust is such a piece of literature. Not even the sacra-
ment meeting favorite, Wordsworth’s “Our birth is but a sleep and a 
forgetting . . . ,” can match it for conveying the dynamics of God’s 
creative purposes and man’s ultimate destiny. Unfortunately, Goethe’s 
Faust is for most Mormons a book with seven seals.

At a recent lecture on German culture the speaker announced to a 
trusting Mormon audience his intention to trace the main threads of 
this great German masterpiece, but he did not deliver as promised. 
What the audience received instead was an outline of the legendary 
Faust, with fragments of Christopher Marlowe’s Doctor Faustus

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1Quotations in English are from the George Madison Priest translation, available in the Britannica Great Books series (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952).
thrown in. Those of the audience who did not know better left the lecture convinced that Goethe had written a longish drama in which the protagonist, Faust, makes a pact with the devil, sells his soul for wine, women, and if not song, at least plenty of money, and is finally dragged screaming down to hell. I was disturbed. Goethe deserves better treatment.

There are many literary works that involve a pact with the devil and in which the pact-maker is finally dragged off to hell, but Goethe’s Faust is not one of these. In Goethe’s masterpiece, which was not hastily thrown together—indeed it was sixty years in the making—there is no pact with the devil, and at the conclusion Faust is not dragged off to hell; on the contrary he is welcomed by hosts of angels into the realms of heavenly bliss. For the benefit of those whose knowledge of Goethe’s Faust is faded, or was gained originally by hearsay, here is a short summary of Faust’s movement through the drama.

Faust, in a state of depression after several unsuccessful attempts to understand the mystery of existence by means of traditional academic knowledge, determines to try magic. Following a humiliating confrontation with the Earth Spirit, his depression deepens, and he decides to dare an understanding of life by a suicidal transcendence. At the fateful moment, as he raises to his lips a chalice filled with poison, a Chorus of Angels sings of the Resurrection and a Chorus of Disciples emphasizes that the meaning of life is to be found on this earth. Faust is persuaded to reject suicide and pursue his quest in life, rather than in death. As a consequence of an intriguing wager with a daemonic and nihilistic spirit, Mephistopheles (more about this wager later), Faust throws himself into a maelstrom of experiences which combine good elements and bad, success and tragedy.

His initial attraction to the young and innocent Gretchen develops into a meaningful and understanding love, but leads to the death of Gretchen’s mother, her brother, her baby (fathered by Faust), and finally to Gretchen’s own death. Faust’s subsequent union with the beautiful Helen (in Part II of the drama) unites the classical elements of Greece and Germany, but the union ends with the tragic death of their son Euphorion and the return of Helen and Euphorion to Hades. Faust’s desire to perfect the extent of his large oceanside estate by resettling an old couple leads to their death. Finally, after all of these (and many other) experiences, Faust, now an old man blinded by Care, receives an inner light which transforms itself into a great inner vision. At this point Faust falls dead and Mephistopheles steps forward to claim his victim. He is frustrated, however, as angels, strewing rose petals of
divine love, drive off Mephistopheles’ assisting devils and ascend with the immortal Faust where he is welcomed into the heavenly realms by Gretchen in company with the _mater gloriosa_, the Queen of Heaven.

In all earlier literary versions of the Faust legend, Faust is damned. Goethe’s Faust is saved, but not even the contemporary critics could ask Goethe why. Goethe refused to allow the completed manuscript to be published until after his death. We must find the justification for Faust’s salvation in the text.

In a passage underscored by Goethe himself as vital to an understanding of Faust’s salvation, the angels ascending with Faust explain (11934–41):

Gerettet ist das edle Glied  
Der Geisterwelt vom Bösen,
_Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,_  
Den können wir erlösen.  
Und hat an ihm die Liebe gar  
Von oben teilgenommen,
Begegnet ihm die selige Schar  
Mit herzlichem Willkommen.

Lo! rescued is this noble one  
From evil machination:  
“Who e’er aspiring, struggles on  
For him there is salvation.”  
And if to him Celestial Love  
Its favoring grace has given,  
The Blessed Host comes from Above  
And welcomes him to Heaven.

The idea of salvation because of a determined striving, a refusal to give up, even a faith that urges one onward, is certainly a noble sentiment, and one that has been praised by readers of _Faust_ for a hundred and fifty years. But it will not do if it is left to stand alone. Though it may answer _why_ Faust was saved, there is a complementary question which goes beyond the question of why: to what end was Faust saved? What is the nature of Faust’s salvation? Surely Goethe would not bring Faust on this imperiled journey and then at the end leave this question unanswered. Surprisingly, however, it seems that this very question has eluded the critics. It is as if Goethe had seen Faust safely into a heaven without telling us what kind of a heaven he had seen Faust safely into. But Goethe did not do this at all. He has left a clear linguistic trail, and by following this trail we will have a glimpse into Faust’s heaven.
Faust, in his quest for understanding, conjures up the Earth Spirit (Erdgeist), only to find that he cannot bear the presence of this powerful spirit who appears in flames of fire. The Earth Spirit rebukes Faust’s terror (491–93):

Wo ist die Brust, die eine Welt in sich erschuf
Und trug und hegte, die mit Freudebeben
Erschwoll, sich uns, den Geistern, gleich zu heben?

Where is the breast that in its self a world created
And bore and fostered it? And that with joyous trembling
Expanded as if spirits, us, resembling?

With this mocking rebuke, Goethe begins the forging of a chain of linked passages that leads Faust, if not directly, at least ultimately, to the transcendent state with which the drama closes nearly 12,000 lines later. The linking word in this chain is gleich, which in various forms occurs 142 times throughout the drama. Gleich and the verb gleichen are related to (and rhyme with) the English like, in the sense of similar, but in most contexts in German the word is closer to the English equal or alike. The related Gleichung means a mathematical equation. Gleichnis is a parable, allegory, or simile. In the context of Faust’s conversation with the Earth Spirit the word is used both by Faust and the Earth Spirit with its biblical connotations, suggesting particularly the passage in the first chapter of Genesis: “Laßt uns Menschen machen, ein Bild, das uns gleich sei.” (Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.)

In this sense, Faust declares himself to be in the image (likeness) of the Earth Spirit (500):

Ich bin’s, bin Faust, bin deinesgleichen!

'Tis I, I’m Faust, I am thy peer!

and claims a closeness to this spirit of creative activity (511):

Geschäftiger Geist, wie nah fühl’ ich mich dir!

Thou busy spirit, how near I feel to thee!

The Earth Spirit, however, in a passage seminal to an understanding of Faust’s salvation, sharply rejects Faust’s claim to equality (512–13):

2 More correctly “creative spirit.”
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Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst,
Nicht mir!

Thou art like the spirit thou canst comprehend,
Not me!

The Earth Spirit disappears and Faust shouts his objection into the empty study (516–17):

Ich Ebenbild der Gotheit!
Und nicht einmal dir!

I, image of the Godhead!
And not even like to thee!

But his objection is pointless. The Earth Spirit does not reply. Faust has learned that he can commune with this creative spirit but has learned also that he is not the equal of the spirit because he does not comprehend him. With brilliant irony, Goethe has allowed Faust his clearest insight into the nature of the mystery and at the same time has sunk him into the depths of despair because this insight has not yet reached the level of true comprehension. Faust has glimpsed the mystery but cannot fathom it. He laments that he, created higher than the angels (Ich, mehr als Cherub) and hoping to enjoy the creative life of the Gods (schaffend, Götterleben zu genießen), is thrown down by the thundering words, "Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst" (Thou art like the spirit thou canst comprehend). What a rejection! In the soliloquy which follows, Faust can only utter the despairing words (652):

Den Göttern gleich’ ich nicht!

I am not like the gods!

THE MEANING OF THE LOGOS

Turning to the next stage in Faust's development, we find him in his study where he opens the Greek New Testament and turns to the Gospel of John as a logical continuation of his determination to understand the nature of the creative, active life. He begins to translate (1224):

Im Anfang war das Wort!

In the beginning was the Word.

For the reader who has followed carefully, the reason Faust turns to the Gospel of John should be obvious. Faust has intimations that the mystery of the universe is related to a creative activity. John begins his Gospel of Christ with a statement of the creative nature of the Word,
and thus parallels the first line of Genesis: "In the beginning God created..." As Faust works through a translation of this first line of John's Gospel he is perplexed. The Greek Logos is a powerful word with many connotations, especially connotations of creative power. Can "word" possibly bear the weight of this passage? To solve this dilemma, Faust takes his translation of the Logos through four stages: Wort (word), Sinn (meaning), Kraft (power), and finally concludes with the famous line (1237): "Im Anfang war die Tat!" (In the beginning was the Deed!)

The idea that Faust is a man of action and activity has become almost a platitude, primarily because of this translation scene. Many critics, however, have failed to see that Faust's translation is not a rejection of "word" in favor of "deed" as a proper translation of Logos. What Faust (Goethe) gives us is a process by which the Word moves through stages until it arrives at the stage of the creative act in which the potential of the Word is finally realized. The Word is ineffective until one understands the meaning of the Word (Sinn). This understanding will then lead to activity if one has the power (Kraft) to transform this understanding into action. But each of these stages of progression remains only a potential until the final stage is reached— that of the creative act (Tat).

Faust's comprehension has moved upward to a higher level, and he understands now that the meaningful life must be a life leading to a creative act. What he does not yet realize is that this activity must be directed, purposeful, and beneficial to others. Nevertheless, Faust has identified a goal, and this becomes a challenge to Mephistopheles, who, in the scene following, enters into a very intriguing wager with Faust.

THE WAGER: "VERWEILE DOCH, Du BIST SO SCHÖN"

In the wager scene (which is often wrongly referred to as the "pact" scene, although no pact is made), Faust hedges his bet as no gambler has ever done. Mephistopheles suggests a pact. He is willing to be Faust's servant here on earth if Faust will render the same service to Mephistopheles in the beyond (wenn wir uns drüben wiederfinden). Faust rejects the idea of a pact and counters with the offer of a wager, which contains three conditions (1692–96). If Faust should ever turn to a satisfied indolence (beruhigt je mich auf ein Faulbett legen), if Mephistopheles can ever flatter Faust into a sense of self-satisfaction (mich schmeichelnd je belügen, daß ich mir selbst gefallen mag), or if Mephistopheles should ever be able to deceive him with pleasure
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(kannst du mich mit Genuß betrügen), then that will be Faust's final
day, time will end, and he will gladly go to hell in chains. The
identifying sign of surrender, the indication that Faust has lost the
wager, will be Faust's statement of contentment with the static mo-
ment. If Faust should ever express his desire for a given moment to
remain as it is, for the movement of time to cease, should he ever say to
any moment (1700), "Verweile doch, du bist so schön!" (Ah, linger on,
 thou art so fair!), then Faust will have lost the wager, and his soul in
the process.

This is the wager Faust offers, and, as I suggested, the wager is
hedged. Faust has already learned that to become like the Earth Spirit,
a creative spirit, he must comprehend this spirit. What he has compre-
prehended so far is that the way to creativity is through activity. The
conditions of the wager are the antithesis of meaningful activity:
indolence, self-satisfaction, pleasure, a static, nonprogressive exis-
tence. It is, by the way, highly ironic that the very conditions which a
popularized version of orthodox Christianity sees as heavenly bliss are
for Faust the conditions of hell. But if Mephistopheles can demonstrate
to Faust's satisfaction that this static type of life underlies all existence,
then Faust's concept of activity will have been wrong, life will not be
progressive, ongoing activity, and this, for Faust, amounts to a dam-
nation anyway. Faust will lose the wager if Mephistopheles can prove
all activity to be meaningless. On the other hand, should Faust ever
fully comprehend the active, creative nature of the Earth Spirit he will
then be not only like this creative spirit, he will have become a creative
spirit himself. Mephistopheles will have lost.

OPPOSITION

As the drama continues, Faust's search for meaning becomes a
struggle of the positive against the nihilistic. Faust is active, searching,
experimenting, and Mephistopheles is attempting to divert this activity
into meaningless or destructive directions. On their first meeting,
Mephistopheles identifies himself and his activity (1338–44):

Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint!
Und das mit Recht; denn alles, was entsteht,
Ist wert, daß es zugrunde geht;
Drum besser wär's, daß nichts entstünde.
So ist denn alles, was ihr Sünde,
Zerstörung, kurz das Böse nennt,
Mein eigentliches Element.
I am the Spirit that denies!
And rightly too; for all that doth begin
Should rightly to destruction run;
'Twere better then that nothing were begun.
Thus everything that you call Sin,
Destruction—in a word, as Evil represent—
That is my own, real element.

A fact that has eluded many commentators as well as casual readers of Faust is that from this point of the wager onward Mephistopheles does very little to induce Faust to indolence, self-satisfaction, or even pleasure. More often than not, Mephistopheles prevents Faust from being able to express the fateful words of the wager: “Verweile doch, du bist so schön” (Linger on, thou art so fair). He knows he cannot divert Faust’s energy from the active life. His goal, then, is to pervert this activity into a nihilistic, meaningless activity. Love must be perverted into lust, motherhood must be perverted into infanticide, creative activity into destructive activity, the Word of creative power into the Deed of negative power. Such is the configuration of activity into which Faust throws himself, with the help of Mephistopheles.

Frequently in the text this configuration is symbolized by sarcastic parodies of Faust’s striving to become like the gods, and two of these parodies use the key word, gleich. The first involves Mephistopheles himself; the second, the sea god Nereus.

Dismally out of his element in the “klassische Walpurgisnacht” scene of Part II, Mephistopheles finally finds himself at home with the ugliness of the three Phorkyads (who have among them one eye and one tooth which they exchange for seeing and eating). Mephistopheles, wanting to resemble their ugliness, is advised that he should close one eye, let his fang (tooth) show, and he will resemble them (gleichen) perfectly (8022–25):

Drück du ein Auge zu, 's ist leicht geschehn,
Laß also fort den einen Raffzahn sehn,
Und im Profil wirst du sogleich erreichen,
Geschwisterlich vollkommen uns zu gleichen.

Press one eye to—quite easily it’s done—
And of your tusks show only one;
At once you will attain our profile meetly
And sisterly resemble us completely.

A second mockery of Faust’s aspiration to equate himself with the gods is expressed by the sea god Nereus. On hearing the approach of Thales and Homunculus, Nereus, in words echoing the Earth Spirit, exclaims
that men are creatures striving to reach the gods but damned to resemble (gleichen) only themselves (8096–97):

Gebilde, strebsam, Götter zu erreichen,
Und doch verdammt, sich immer selbst zu gleichen.

These creatures would be gods by sheer endeavour,
Yet damned to be like their own selves forever.

"IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED":
THE THEME OF CREATIVITY

Central to Faust's quest, and ubiquitous throughout the drama, is the theme of creativity. The first of three preludes to the work is a "Zueignung," a dedicatory poem, in which we find the poet in the artistic process of creating a drama, relenting to the insistence of the imaginary characters who demand that they be given form. In the second prelude, the "Prelude on the Stage," Goethe has presented a humorously ironic variation on this theme as a theater director, an actor, and a poet discuss the type of play that should be written—after the crowd has filled the theater and is waiting for the curtain to go up. The third prelude, the "Prologue in Heaven" (with echoes of Job 1:6–12), opens with the trio of archangels, Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael, singing of the Lord's creation which still stands as splendid "as on the first of days." The "Prologue in Heaven" also introduces the function of evil in the creative process. The Lord explains that man has a tendency to a state of ease, a noncreative state, and that there must be an opposing force to stir him into continual activity (340–44):

Des Menschen Tätigkeit kann allzuleicht erschlaffen,
Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
Drum geb' ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
Der reizt und wirkt und muß als Teufel schaffen.

Mankind's activity can languish all too easily,
A man soon loves unhampered rest;
Hence, gladly I give him a comrade such as you,
Who stirs and works and must, as devil, do.3

The creative process is not always positive. Creativity is sometimes perverted by evil, as in the case of the love of Faust and Gretchen, which leads eventually to insanity and infanticide, or as in the instance in Part II when Mephistopheles leads the empire into bankruptcy and civil war through the creation of unsupported paper money.

3 The rhyme scheme chosen by the translator requires the verb do. The German verb schaffen actually reads "and must, as devil, create."
The creation of life becomes the central focus of Act 2 of Part II. Faust's assistant, Wagner, has created a little man (Männlein) in a test tube, but only in the form of pure intelligence, a spiritual creation. Homunculus, as he is called, wants to receive a physical existence. Long sections of Act 2 are dedicated to a debate between two Greek philosophers, Thales and Anaxagoras, over the process by which life comes into existence. Anaxagoras argues for instantaneous, cataclysmic creation, while Thales argues for a natural, evolutionary development (fifty years before Darwin). In a marvelous concluding scene, Homunculus, with the help of the sea gods Nereus and Proteus, breaks his vial and disperses himself into the ocean where he will go through a natural, evolutionary development into physical existence.

Beginning with Act 4 and continuing through Act 5, there are frequent and important symbolic references to the separation of land and water—one of the first acts of creation—and this theme culminates in Faust's final vision of the creative act.

COMPREHENSION AND DEATH

At the end of Faust's life, his final tragedy brings about his final comprehension. Faust lives in a great palace on the seacoast and rules over vast tracts of land. His domain is, however, flawed by the presence of an old cottage and a small chapel belonging to the old couple Philemon and Bauchs. Faust instructs Mephistopheles to resettle the old couple. Instead, Mephistopheles burns them to death in their cottage. Faust, as the master, knows that he must bear the ultimate responsibility. In this moment of distress Faust laments his connection with magic. He realizes that his constant activity has been so often misdirected because it was not performed with his own natural powers and the powers of nature. In a poignant soliloquy Faust realizes that he is not a free man as long as he is subject to the power of magic. His goal now is to act independently of magic, and only then will human activity have meaning (11403–07):

Noch hab' ich mich ins Freie nicht gekämpft.
Könnt' ich Magie von meinem Pfad entfernen,
Die Zaubersprüche ganz und gar verlernen,
Stünd' ich, Natur, vor dir ein Mann allein,
Da wär's der Mühe wert, ein Mensch zu sein.

My way to freedom I have not yet fought.
Could I all magic from my pathway banish,
Could quite unlearn its spells and bid it vanish
Nature, could I face thee, in thy great plan,
Then were it worth the pain to be a man.
Whereupon, Faust is immediately confronted by Care (Frau Sorge).

The scene is an inner room of Faust’s palace. It is midnight. Faust’s first inclination is to use his artificial, borrowed magical power to reject Care, but remembering his desire to reject magic and act independently, he makes one of his most important and profound decisions: he renounces the power of magic (11423): “Nimm dich in acht und sprich kein Zauberwort” (Take care and say no word of sorcery).

Although Faust is able to dismiss Care, she inflicts blindness on him before she departs. Now, having rejected magic and having rejected Care, the blinded Faust sees for the first time—with an inner vision. Faust’s final vision is one of the great passages of the drama, and of literature. Pertinent to our purposes, Faust’s final vision represents symbolically the culmination of meaningful human activity. The visionary scene is symbolic of the activity of God creating for the benefit of mankind, and Faust now understands that, similarly, the meaningful life is a life engaged in a creative activity for the benefit of humanity. For the first time, Faust’s creative activity is purposeful. He plans to separate the land from the water, drain swampland, and prepare a place for the colonization of a free society. Faust, emulating God, will become a creator for the benefit of a race of free humans who will live out their lives in a daily struggle to maintain their freedom. Several references in this visionary scene allude to the first creation and the Garden of Eden. Faust refers to his proposed creation as a new earth, and as a paradise. Faust now understands the meaning of existence. By creating (“In the beginning was the Deed!”), Faust symbolically emulates God, and in the process of emulating him, comprehends him, and consequently becomes more like him (“Thou art like the spirit thou canst comprehend”).

Faust’s quest is nearly ended, but we must not misunderstand, as Mephistopheles did. The creative activity seen by Faust is an anticipatory vision of the future. Faust, confident that he has now acquired the comprehension demanded by the Earth Spirit, the comprehension which would make him the equal of that creative spirit, feels that he could say to such a future moment, “Stay, thou art so fair.” Goethe is describing here a configurative pattern. Faust sees the most lovely moment in the future, but this moment is a creation of the mind that has not been realized by the creative deed. When that future moment is realized, Faust’s vision will have gone far beyond that moment to an ever higher and more lovely moment. The upward cycle will be unending. Mephistopheles, nihilist that he is, does not comprehend this eternally creative progression. As Faust speaks the fateful words of the
wager, he falls to earth in death, and Mephistopheles, exultant and apparently triumphant, steps forward to claim his victim and issues his final mocking denial of the creative by reciting the final words of Christ on the cross (11594): "Es ist vollbracht" (It is finished). He is contradicted, however, by the words of a chorus stating that Faust’s death is not an end but a transition. Mephistopheles angrily retorts (11598–603):

Was soll uns denn das ew’ge Schaffen!
Geschaffenes zu nichts hinwegzuraffen!
"Da ist’s vorbei!" Was ist daran zu lesen?
Es is so gut, als wär’ es nicht gewesen,
Und treibt sich doch im Kreis, als wenn es wäre.
Ich liebte mir dafür das Ewig-Leere.

Of what avail’s perpetual creation
If later swept off to annihilation?
“So it is past!” You see what that must mean?
It is the same as had it never been,
And yet whirls on as if it weren’t destroyed.
I should prefer the Everlasting Void.4

TRANSCENDENCE AND TRANSFIGURATION

To his great dismay, Mephistopheles must stand helplessly by as angels ascend into the “higher atmosphere” (höhere Atmosphäre) with the immortal Faust. Where did the wager go wrong, Mephistopheles would like to know. There is evidence in the text, but a passing reference to an important poem by Goethe will be helpful. In the poem “Selige Sehnsucht” (Blessed Longing), Goethe traces the image of the caterpillar who passes through death in the cocoon to emerge into a new life as a butterfly. The butterfly, now desiring an even higher existence, flies into the light of the candle and passes through death in the flame. Goethe’s final cryptic commentary is powerful and pertinent:

Und so lang du das nicht hast,
Dieses, Stirb und Werde!
Bist du nur ein trüber Gast
Auf der dunklen Erde.

As long as you do not understand this:
Death and Becoming,
You are only a confused guest
On this dark earth.

4Ewig-Leere is more properly “Eternal Emptiness,” to parallel and contrast with the final Ewig-Weibliche, “Eternal-Womanly” (12110).
The Nature of Faust's Salvation

Had Mephistopheles understood "death and becoming," he would not have been so confident as he stepped forward to claim Faust's soul. The pattern suggested by this little poem, and the pattern ubiquitous in Goethe's work, especially in Faust, is that of death and transfiguration to a higher realm, sphere, or level of understanding and being. Faust, anticipating the highest moment of creative activity, speaks the words of the wager, but only in reference to a future event. When the highest moment finally arrives, it will not have become a static culmination but only a stage for an even higher moment. Through "death and becoming," Faust progresses eternally upward. As he grows from stage to stage, through new steps of comprehension, he becomes more like the gods.

The culmination and fulfillment of the Earth Spirit's pronouncement, "Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst," comes at the culmination and fulfillment of Faust's earthly existence. His final mortal comprehension results in his death and subsequent transcendence of the earthly, but also results in a new, immortal level of comprehension.

In the final scene (so majestically set to music by Gustav Mahler), Faust is surrounded by various heavenly beings as he ascends from the earth. In his apotheosis, Faust remains clearly but decidedly in the background. He speaks not a word. The focus is on the heavenly beings surrounding the mater gloriosa, the Queen of Heaven. Within this heavenly host is "a penitent woman, known formerly as Gretchen," who approaches the Queen of Heaven with the request that she be permitted to lead and instruct the newly arrived Faust. The words of Gretchen forge the penultimate link in the chain of "comprehension equals likeness." Faust, surrounded by the Choir of Spirits, is scarcely aware of himself, scarcely aware of the newness of life, because he is no longer in contrast with his environment. He has become like (gleicht) the holy host surrounding him (12084–87):

Vom edlen Geisterchor umgeben,
Wird sich der Neue kaum gewahr,
Er ahnet kaum das frische Leben,
So gleicht er schon der heiligen Schar.

Girt by the noble choir of Heaven,
 Himself the new-come scarcely knows,
 Scarcely feels the fresh life newly given
 Ere like the holy throng he grows.5

5Perhaps better translated "He is so much like" or "He so resembles the holy throng."
At the beginning of his quest, the earthly Faust quivered in fear before the Earth Spirit. Through long development that included much suffering, Faust has finally understood the nature of the Divine. The meaningful life is the life that is engaged in creative activity for the benefit of mankind. With this comprehension, Faust transcends the earthly and is now transfigured to the likeness of the holy beings who surround him.

The ultimate link is secured by the final Mystical Chorus. Doctor Marianus, adoring and prostrate, addresses the mater gloriosa and concludes his address of adoration with the worshipful title: Virgin, Mother, Queen, Goddess (Jungfrau, Mutter, Königen, Göttin). It is particularly significant that Goethe has added to the traditional tripartite address (Virgin, Mother, Queen) the further stage of Goddess, thereby emphasizing the creative life and completing at last the four-stage cycle first announced with Faust’s translation of “In the beginning was the Word.” Finally, the Mystical Chorus closes this chain of “comprehension equals likeness” by revealing that all things transitory are but a symbol (Gleichnis) of things heavenly (12104–05):

Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichnis . . .

All earth comprises
Is symbol alone.

The vision of Faust as colonizer is symbolic (“gleich”) of God as creator. The heaven to which Faust then ascends is not a static place of rest, not a terminus, but a new life of divine, ongoing, creative activity. He is one stage further from the despairing lament “Den Göttern gleich’ ich nicht.”

Angels Bearing the Saved Soul by Moritz Retzsch
“Play It Again, Sam”:
The Remarkable “Prophecy”
of Samuel Lutz,
Alias Christophilus Gratianus,
Reconsidered

Paul B. Pixton

I recall traveling, as a brand-new missionary in Germany in the summer of 1960, with my senior companion by train from Freiburg to several cities in and around the Black Forest which made up our mission district. On one such occasion, I acquired a most intriguing note from a fellow missionary: a “prophecy” by a Catholic monk named Lutius Gratus from the year 1739, the original of which was said to be found in the library of the University of Basel in Switzerland. This amazing document foretold the coming forth of the true church of God within one hundred years, a church which would be led by prophets and elders bearing the priesthood of old; the tiny band of faithful followers of these divinely ordained men would be persecuted and killed until at length they found refuge in the valley of a great salten sea; there they would cause the land to burst forth in blossoms, build a temple of indescribable beauty, and gather the righteous from the four corners of the earth, all in anticipation of the day when the Lord God would visit the wicked with his destructive fury.

I had never heard of such a prophecy before, but to a twenty-year-old Mormon elder it was further proof of the validity of the message I had come to Germany to proclaim. It was exciting to know that almost a hundred years before the Restoration through Joseph Smith a vision of that great event and of associated circumstances had been vouchsafed to a righteous monk. This notion was consistent with other pre-Restoration statements made by Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson which had been printed in LDS publications and are still used in visitors’ centers throughout the Church.

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In discussing this remarkable piece of information with the other missionary, I also learned that the rumor around our mission was that a German Mission president had recently been forced by ill health to withdraw from the rigors of his church calling. While convalescing, he allegedly traveled to Basel where he was said to have located the source of the "prophecy" in the university library. Upon returning a second time, however, he found that the document had mysteriously disappeared.

During the remainder of my mission, I doubt that I ever looked at that quotation again; certainly I never referred to it in the course of my proselyting. Over a decade later, however, as a professional historian, I was discussing Mormon folklore with a graduate student when the topic of the "prophecy" of Lutius Gratus came up. The student mentioned that he had run across references to this curious item while researching the papers of President Heber J. Grant. Realizing that the "prophecy" was not new to my generation of missionaries and that it might have an interesting history of its own, I once again turned to a consideration of it, the results of which are presented here.

The first mention of the "prophecy" seems to have occurred in 1893 when the *Juvenile Instructor* and *Der Stern*—two periodicals published by the LDS church—featured an article in English and German respectively, written by Jacob Spori. Entitled "True and False Theosophy," the article quoted the "prophecy" much as I had received it, claiming that it was contained in a work called *Die Hoffnung Zions* (The Hope of Zion), written by Lutius Gratianus and published at Basel, Switzerland, in 1739. Speaking of the entire work, Spori remarked:

> I cannot give in English the terrific power that peals forth from Gratianus’ original (German). The healings and wonderful doings of this unique man were so outstanding, his preaching so powerful, that he was invited all over the land to preach, and even today old men in the Swiss mountains remember having heard their sires talk about the man.¹

¹Jacob Spori, "True and False Theosophy," *Juvenile Instructor* 28 (1 November 1893): 672–74: Another [theosophist], Lutius Gratiano, in his "Hope of Zion" (printed 1739, in Basel) says: "The old true gospel and the powers thereof are lost. False doctrines prevail throughout every church and all the lands. All we can do is to exhort the people to fear God, to be just, to shun evil, to pray, pray, pray. Prayer and purity may bring an angel to visit a deeply distressed soul. But I tell you, that in 100 years God will have spoken again; He will restore the old Church again. I see a little people led by a Prophet and faithful Elders. They are persecuted, burnt out and murdered, but in a valley that lies towards a great lake they will grow up, make a beautiful (herrlich) land, have a temple of magnificent splendor, have all the old Priesthood, with Apostles, Prophets, Teachers and Deacons. From every nation the believers will be gathered by swift messengers, and then God, the Omnipotent, will speak to the disobedient nations with thunder, lightnings and destructions never heard of in history." (Italics in the original.)

The Remarkable "Prophecy" of Samuel Lutz

The rather stunning nature of the "prophecy" undoubtedly aroused curiosity among Latter-day Saints from the outset, but especially among the missionaries then serving in Switzerland. One of those who read Spori's article in Der Stern was Elder Christian Hyrum Muhlestein from Provo, Utah, who claimed over fifty years later that he became excited to the point of searching for the original source which was located in the Basel University Library. Muhlestein asserted that he and his companion, Elder Theodore Graf of Santa Clara, Utah, located a copy of Die Hoffnung Zions—measuring about 5" by 7" by 1-1/2" and published at Basel in 1739 just as Spori had stated—and that they also found the "prophecy" contained therein. He recalled that he saw the book but once and that he had referred to the "prophecy" on a subsequent occasion in a sermon which he delivered to a large gathering in Basel, in consequence of which the inhabitants of that city became aware that there was a book in the university library which lent prophetic support to the Mormon church.2

Whether as a result of the version printed in the Juvenile Instructor or of that in Der Stern, the "prophecy" found its way into many corners of Mormondom, including a hometown newspaper in southern Idaho. In January 1908 Rulon S. Wells of the First Council of Seventy responded to that notice, asking in tones of reproach:

I wonder if the editor of the local paper referred to really intended to stand responsible for the plain assertion that this wonderful prediction is to be found in [Die Hoffnung Zions]; or has he permitted himself to be imposed upon by some one else? Personally, I would be very much interested in learning who is really responsible for the foregoing statement, for, if it be true, it should be verified, and the name of Gratiano should become a household word, as one of the prophets to whom the future was unfolded with such clearness and detail as almost to rival the wonderful vision of Daniel, when the Lord made known to him the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation. But if, on the other hand, it be untrue, the perpetrator of this fraud deserves severe reprimand. For my part, I am free to admit, that I regard it as a "fake" and a fraud.3

Wells's skepticism was not without some basis, for he noted that about ten years previously, while visiting the Swiss and German Mission, and having already seen a copy of the "prophecy," he had resolved to visit the library in Basel and, if possible, obtain a copy of the

2Ernst Staehelin, "Eine angebliche Weissagung Samuel Lutzens auf die Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der letzten Tage." Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz, Jahrgang 108 (Basel, 1952): 7-11; see also George F. Hilton, "How Valid Is the Prophecy of Samuel Lutz" (paper, dated September 1956), 2-3, a copy of which is on file in the Library-Archives, Historical Division of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

book. With the assistance of a local emigration agent named Romell, he
succeeded in locating *Zion's Hoffnung* by Lutius Gratiano, printed in
the year 1739. Jointly with Elder Peter Loutensock, then presiding in
that mission, he read the work from start to finish and much to his
disappointment found in it no such prediction, and nothing that even
resembled it. While recognizing that the book was written by a devout
Christian, he concluded that it contained nothing that would justify its
being cited as the source from which the "prophecy" was drawn.

President Wells further noted that in 1901 David L. McDonald,
who then presided over the Swiss Mission, also visited the library,
obtained the book, read it, and was equally disappointed in his hope of
finding the alleged prediction. In summation, President Wells stated:

> There is nothing in . . . *Zion's Hoffnung* . . . that would warrant [its con-
> nection with the "prophecy"], and let us hope that it will not be used,
either at home or abroad in the mission field, in support of the great work
> of the Master. There is enough real prophecy without using any that is
> bogus, to convince the honest in heart of the truth.
>
> One would think that editors of newspapers and magazines would
> verify such remarkable statements before permitting them to be
> published.4

The diary which Rulon S. Wells kept as president of the European
Mission commences with 1 January 1897 but is unhappily incomplete.
It makes no mention whatever of his trip into Switzerland.5 But the
Manuscript History of the Swiss and German Mission contains the
notation for Saturday, 3 July 1897: "Presidents Wells, McMurrin and
Loutensock having visited Basel and Mannheim, arrived in Frankfurt
A.M.,"6 suggesting that between the Sunday (27 June) conference of the
Church at Bern and their appearance at Frankfurt these men could
have spent time in the Basel University Library looking for the
"prophecy." While President Wells affirmed that a copy of the 1739
edition of *Die Hoffnung Zions* existed in the library, he clearly contra-
dicted the assertions made by Hyrum Muhlestein that the "prophecy"
was to be found therein.

Accompanying President Wells on the 1897 tour of the European
Mission was Elder James Learing McMurrin, who in 1901 served
as counselor to Wells's successor, Francis M. Lyman. In that latter

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4Ibid., 164.
5Rulon S. Wells, Diary of European Mission, LDS Church Archives. The Reminiscences and Diary of Peter
Loutensock are also preserved in the LDS Church Archives, but they make no reference to the search for the
"prophecy" either.
6LDS Church Archives.
capacity, McMurrin penned a note which appeared in the *Millennial Star*, telling of his own investigation of “The Swiss Prophet”:

Sometime ago I was handed an article purporting to be an extract from Gratianos’s “Hope of Zion,” a work said to be in the University Library at Basle. . . . Not being familiar with any such work, and finding the quotation from it contained a very remarkable prophecy, I concluded to investigate the matter, and ascertain, if possible, the truth relating thereto. . . . I at once communicated with President L. S. Cardon, of the Swiss Mission, soliciting his assistance, well knowing that it was within his power, and that of the missionaries associated with him, to give the matter a thorough investigation. He immediately instituted a search for the book, and happily his efforts were crowned with success. It was found in the library referred to, but a careful perusal of it failed to disclose any such declaration as the one above given. It contained no such prophecy. . . . It will be noticed that there is a little difference in the name of the author and the date given in the two articles. The first one has it: “Lutius Gratianus, 1739,” while the second one gives it as “Christophilus Gratiano, 1732.” It is unquestionably one and the same work, however, because the title, “Hope of Zion,” is the same in both articles, and there is but one work of that name in the library in which it was found, and to which I was directed.?

Unlike Rulon S. Wells and David L. McDonald, who claimed that a copy of a 1739 edition of *Die Hoffnung Zions* by Lutius Gratianus could be found in the Basel University Library, McMurrin asserted that such was not the case; what he found in that same library was a 1732 edition of *Die Hoffnung Zions* by one Christophilus Gratianus. He was equally emphatic that the labors of President Louis S. Cardon and the elders of the Swiss Mission had been unable to reveal the existence of any passages in the latter work which corresponded to the “prophecy.”

Given the disparity between the reports of these several Church leaders, it is of no minor importance to investigate the identity of “Lutius Gratianus.”

A thorough search of the catalogues of books published in the eighteenth century fails to reveal a single author by that name.6 On the other hand, one does find the book *Die Hoffnung Zions*, which was

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published in 1732 at Bern, Switzerland, by Christophilus Gratianus. It was this book which James L. McMurrin saw in about 1900 in the Basel University Library. As it turns out, however, “Christophilus Gratianus” was one of several *noms de plume* employed by Samuel Lutz (1674–1750), a member of the Swiss Reformed Church who was widely known as the “King of the Pietists.” Prolific as a writer and as a preacher, he is credited with the authorship of over thirty-six works which were published during his lifetime and posthumously.

From 1723 until 1729 Lutz published under his own name. Then in 1732 he gave way to a literary convention of the eighteenth century, employing the Latinized form of his name, Samuel Lucius, and the pseudonym Christophilus Gratianus. In 1733 he returned to the use of Samuel Lutz, but when his work *Die Hoffnung Zions* was reissued in expanded form in 1737 as part of the volume *Ein Neuer Straus von schönen und gesunden Himmels-Blumen* (A New Bouquet of Beautiful and Healthy Heavenly Flowers), he retained the previous *nom de plume*, Christophilus Gratianus. His sermons of 1743 and 1745 were published under the name Samuel Lucius once more, as were two posthumously printed works in 1751 and 1759 respectively. In 1756, *Die Hoffnung Zions* was again included in a second edition of *Ein Neuer Strauss*, bearing the authorship of Christophilus Gratianus or Samuel Lucius, while an expanded sermon was published in 1759 under the name of Christophilus Gratianus. On none of the known writings of Samuel Lutz does the name Lutius Gratianus ever appear.

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10Representative of these are—

*Die unter der Kelter des Zorns Gottes ligende ... Wein Trauben* (a sermon published under his own name, Samuel Lutz, Basel, 1723).  
*Lilien-Zweig der sanftmützigen und Altes erdulden Liebe* (published under the name of Samuel Lutz, St. Gallen, 1728).  
*Der aus Gottes Verbeissung ... entstehende ewige Sternen-Himmel* (published under the name Samuel Lutz, Bern, 1728).  
*Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit—Predigt über Malachi 4, 2* (a sermon published under the name of Samuel Lutz, Bern, 1729).  
*Die neue Creatur in ihrer eigentlicher Gestalt—Neujahrs-Betraebtung über Paul 2. Cor. 5, 17* (published under the name Christophilus Gratianus, Zurich, 1732).  
*Des Gratianus Christophilus Zeugnuss der Wahrheit oder Verantwortung auf wider thn angegebene Lasternagen und Klagen* (Basel, 1732).  
*Die paradisiche Alte der jungfraulichen Keuschheit, welche Gott giebt allen, die da sind aus dem Glauben an den Herrn Jesus* (published under the name Samuel Lutz, Heris, 1733).  
*Samuel Lucii Klee-Blatt christlicher Tugenden als Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe, welches ebemals in einer Predigt vorgetragen, nachher aber erweitert und vermebert dem Druck überlassen worden* (Zurich, 1759).
And yet, Spori, Muhlestein, Wells, and McDonald all testified that the work *Die Hoffnung Zions*, published at Basel in 1739, bore such authorship. Since Spori is the ultimate source for this variant of the name, it is to him that we must now turn for a resolution of this seeming contradiction.

Jacob Spori came from the Swiss canton of Bern, where he was born 26 March 1847, the son of the teacher Jacob Spori of Oberwyl in Niedersimmental. The younger Spori also became a teacher, receiving his license on 4 April 1867, after completing his education at the seminary of Munchenbuchsee. In September 1871 he became the principal of the high school (*Gymnasium*) at Oberwyl. He was also interested in ecclesiastical matters, and at some time before 1876 he was elected to the synod of the Bern Reformed State Church. In early 1877, during a personal spiritual crisis, Spori was contacted by missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and was baptized into that faith the same year. Having already resigned his seat in the synod, he soon found it necessary to surrender his teaching position as well.

During the winter and spring of 1879, Spori labored in Switzerland as a missionary for his new faith, and in July of that same year he joined the Saints who were gathering to Zion in America. After five difficult years struggling as a farmer in Utah, he returned once more to Switzerland as a missionary and was assigned to the Bern Conference. Just over one month later he was transferred to Constantinople, and at the end of 1885 he was appointed president of the Turkish Mission. Following his release from that position, he returned to Europe, where he also served for a time in northern Italy with Elder N. G. Naegli.

Spori’s substantial academic training in Switzerland served him well during his mission and after his release. He wrote numerous letters to prominent acquaintances in the Bern region, explaining aspects of the restored gospel; he also authored tracts used in proselytizing by missionaries. Shortly after his release in mid-1888, he settled in eastern Idaho where he became a member of the Bannock Stake Board of Education and the first principal of the Bannock Stake Academy (the future Ricks College). In 1891 his good friend Karl G. Maeser invited him to teach German, French, Latin, and mathematics at the Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah.11

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His letters, writings, and actions mark Jacob Spori as a man of broad interests, yet given at times to visionary flights. His investigations of religious movements in the region of Bern prior to 1877 undoubtedly brought him into contact with Pietists—and with them quite reasonably the writings of the Bernese native Samuel Lutz—before Spori himself became a member of the LDS church. It is thus probable that Jacob Spori, as a recent convert to the Mormon faith, drew on that earlier familiarity with Lutz as a means of persuading his former students and friends that one of their own had foreseen the church to which he now belonged.

In his commentary to the "prophecy" as printed in 1893, Spori remarked that "I cannot give in English the terrific power that peals forth from Gratianus' original (German)." It is probable that one reason for this inability was that he did not have a text of Gratianus' "prophecy" before him as he wrote; rather, the citation printed in the Juvenile Instructor and Der Stern was a reconstruction of ideas which Spori had read prior to his emigration in 1877 (or, less likely, during his brief missionary activities in Switzerland during 1884). The puzzling aspects of the "prophecy" can thus be explained as the result of a faulty memory.

Supporting this contention is the fact that Spori gives the author of the work Die Hoffnung Zions as Lutius Gratianus. We have noted above that this pseudonym was never employed by Samuel Lutz. What appears to have happened is that Spori inadvertently combined elements of Lutz's Latinized real name (Samuel Lucius) and his pseudonym (Christophilus Gratianus) to produce the hybrid Lutius Gratianus. Such a mistake would have been most unlikely had an actual copy, or even notes, of Lutz's work been before Spori as he wrote his article in 1893; but it would have been altogether possible for someone who was well acquainted with the writings of Lutz under his various pseudonyms, yet forced to rely on the faded memory of his earlier years for details. The choice of the publication year 1739 at Basel was likewise an honest mistake, inasmuch as Spori had forgotten the actual dates of 1732 (at Bern) and 1737 (at Basel). It does not appear, therefore, that Spori set out intentionally to fabricate a "prophecy" which others took to be a literal excerpt from the writings of one Lutius Gratianus.

But what are we to make of Hyrum Muhlestein's claims? Muhlestein did in fact serve a mission in Switzerland between 1891 and 1894, and the lecture which he claimed to have given in Basel can be documented from independent sources. For the actual contents of the lecture, however, we are forced to rely on Muhlestein's own testimony
The Remarkable "Prophecy" of Samuel Lutz

given years after the event itself. Of all those who sought to find the "prophecy" after the publication of Sporti's article in 1893, he is the only one who claimed to have actually found it word for word. Muhlestein noted that the "prophecy" was contained only in the 1739 Basel edition of Die Hoffnung Zions. He had been able to purchase a secondhand copy of the 1732 edition and agreed with others that there was no information concerning the controversial predictions in this Bern redaction. He assumed that this 1739 edition disappeared from the Basel library after his lecture there as a missionary in 1894, and yet Rulon S. Wells claimed to have seen the same book three years later, albeit without the "prophecy."

On the surface, Muhlestein's detailed description of the 1739 edition of the book appears impressive and lends credence to his assertions. But it is exactly that description which is troubling: the book was said to measure 5" by 7" by 1-1/2". Had the writing been just a pamphlet, it is plausible that only a few copies of it were printed and that these were successfully removed from the library shelves of Basel and other Swiss cities as a reaction against the Mormons' use of Samuel Lutz's speculative theology in their own proselyting. But a work which measures 1-1/2" in thickness is clearly no pamphlet and would thus not have been printed in such limited numbers. It obviously must have been a book which (given Lutz's popularity) would then have been found in the libraries of Switzerland (and presumably in a few neighboring countries), and reference to it must also have been made in the catalogues of books published before 1800. We have noted above, however, that in no instance is this the case. Are we to assume that the efforts to remove all evidence of the "prophecy" went so far as to alter even the catalogues? Such an idea stretches our credulity much too far. Even if the people of Basel had made a concentrated attempt to suppress the "prophecy" by one of their landsmen, why would other Swiss cantons be so cooperative? Muhlestein's assessment of his own impact upon Basel in 1894 thus appears to be an exaggeration. In fact, his insistence that the book was removed following his sermon in 1894 seems to be a belated explanation of why all subsequent attempts to locate the "prophecy" had failed.

Christian Hyrum Muhlestein, whose forebears also came from the canton of Bern, thus appears to be the one most responsible for the perpetuation of the confusion surrounding the "prophecy" of Lutius Gratianus. Not only did he insist that there was in fact a 1739 edition of Die Hoffnung Zions, but he also clung to the erroneous notion of its

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authorship. Moreover, he appears to have originated the idea that the source for the "prophecy" was to be found only in the Basel University Library, an idea to which Spori never alluded in his article. Muhlestein's statement given in 1950/1951 claims that many others had seen the passage in question in the alleged volume, but this declaration loses virtually all its force when he names only Spori, who by then was dead. This assertion is also in contradiction to Muhlestein's claim that the 1739 edition was removed from the library shelves shortly after his 1894 lecture. Since there never was a 1739 edition of the book, we must conclude that Rulon S. Wells, Peter Loutensock, and David L. McDonald never saw such a copy of the work but confused it with the editions of 1732 or 1737. Their preoccupation was primarily with the quotation, not with the year of publication. They furthermore appear to have paid little attention to the name "Lutius Gratianus," regarding it as merely another pseudonym for Samuel Lutz. Not until James L. McMurrin sorted out the various aspects of the problem in 1901 was this incongruency drawn to the general attention of the Church.

That the readership of the Millennial Star was limited, or that having read McMurrin's statement some still chose to regard the "prophecy" as a legitimate prediction of the coming forth of the Restored Church, is apparent from the continued interest in Lutius Gratianus. Every few years a new search into the authenticity of this passage was launched, provoked by missionaries in the field and by the general membership of the Church. President Hyrum W. Valentine of the Swiss and German Mission, for example, received a letter dated 13 July 1912 from one Norman Lee of Brigham City, Utah, which contained the following note:

First I want to call your attention to an extract from a book that is supposed to be in the library of Basel City University. I suppose you have seen the same there many times but I insert a copy herewith, and ask that you make it a point when you visit Basel to look up this book and verify the correctness of this excerpt. It will be worth using if it is found to really exist in the book that is referred to. If it is not in the book of course the excerpt would be of no use.13

No reply to this letter is found among the numerous items in the Valentine Collection at the LDS Church Historical Division Archives, nor is reference made to it in the Manuscript History of the Swiss-German Mission for this period, leaving one to wonder whether in all his efforts to preside over the mission during the troubled years from

13Hyrum W. Valentine, Swiss-German Mission Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.
1911 until 1916 Hyrum Washington Valentine ever found time to pursue the matter of the "prophecy."\textsuperscript{14}

With the resumption of full missionary activities in Germany and Switzerland after the Great War, the question of the "prophecy" was raised once again. On 6 April 1922, Elder Oskar Keith Winters,\textsuperscript{15} then serving as secretary to the president of the Swiss–German Mission, wrote a letter to President Heber J. Grant, informing him of the results of an investigation which Winters had carried out at the leader's request:

Dear President Grant:

I am taking this opportunity of answering your letter regarding a prophecy purported to be in a book in the Basel University Library. I am registered as a student in the Basel University, where I studied German for two semesters and using my privileges as a student I have searched and had the librarian search quite thoroughly and have reached the following conclusion:

The reference has evidently become confused going through so many hands and in order to be sure of the book it will be necessary to have another inquiry made of the person who furnished you with the same. I was successful in finding an old book entitled \textit{Hope of Zion} (Hoffnung Israels) by Theophile Gratianus printed in Bern in 1732. This book is rich in prophecies concerning the restoration of the gospel and is remarkable in that it mentions a church with prophets and patriarchs and that the Urim and Thummin would be restored, etc, etc. The prophecy that you quote is not to be found in the book in its entirety but could perhaps be a synopsis of the whole book or perhaps a summary of someone's thoughts as he read the book. The book is in German and very old as the date would indicate. The Basel University Library is rich in such antiquities and if proper reference were given it would perhaps be possible to locate the exact text. I have had three different references given me. The one from you read "Titus Grationa" which name I could not find; another missionary gave me the name "Lentus Gratus" as he received it from someone; and I found the name "Theophile Gratianus" after much searching through hundreds of "Gratianus" cards and which was really a pseudonym for Samuel Lucius the author of the original book. I am sorry I was

\textsuperscript{14}"Humanity's Vineyard," a newsletter of the LDS Mojave Stake, published a copy of the "prophecy" sometime in the 1970s, said to have been obtained by Samuel T. (more correctly, Samuel Enoch) Bringhurst while on a mission in Switzerland. Bringhurst served a mission 1909–1912 (see Andrew Jensen, \textit{LDS Biographical Encyclopedia} 4 [Salt Lake City, 1971]: 443) and is thus the apparent source of the further statement found in the above-noted issue of "Humanity's Vineyard" that "a one time President of the Swiss-German Mission, Hyrum W. Valentine, and his wife, Ella B. Valentine, both testified to having read this same prophecy in the Library in Basel, Switzerland" (copy of the newsletter is preserved in the LDS Church Archives).

\textsuperscript{15}General information on Oskar Keith Winters is found in the Manuscript History of the Swiss–German Mission, vol. 2, Index; Winters' letter is found in the First Presidency Letter-Press Copy Books, Heber J. Grant (6 April 1922), p. 61. LDS Church Archives.
unable to locate the exact text and will be glad if the correct reference
would be obtained from P.N. Watts of S. Weber.

Sincerely, your Nephew

It is clear from this letter that the "prophecy" which Jacob Spori
attributed to Lutius Gratianus in 1893 had by 1922 been spread by
various means among many members of the Church. Missionaries
came into the field with garbled copies of the text, the result of
inaccurate copying or of oral transmission. This condition had made it
impossible for Winters to locate any writings by either "Titus
Gratiana" or "Lentus Gratus." It is equally obvious that the original
version of the "prophecy" as printed in the Juvenile Instructor and Der
Stern had been forgotten. Without knowing it, Winters had located the
same book at Basel as previous searchers—namely, Die Hoffnung
Zions (incorrectly cited by him as Hoffnung Israels, perhaps due to an
unconscious substitution of the title of a well-known Mormon hymn)
by Theophile Gratianus, or more correctly Samuel Lutz.

Following the suggestion of his nephew, President Grant wrote
P. N. (more correctly, Robert N.) Watts of South Weber, Utah, on
28 April 1922, declaring:

Some time ago I was furnished with a copy of what is styled "Strange
Prophecy Regarding Church," which I understand you located among
some old papers left by your father. It is stated that this prophecy had been
copied from a book by Robert H. Watts, your father, who came to Utah in
1850, and that it bears the notation that the book which contains the same
can be found in the University Library at Basel. . . . The following refer-
ence was given: "Titus Gratiana, in his Hope of Zion, printed in Basel City,
Sw., 1739, which is as follows: . . . " [President Grant then cited the text of
the "prophecy" as he had received it, noting that] I sent a copy of this to
Pres. Serge F. Ballif, of the Swiss and German Mission, who, in turn, asked
Elder O. K. Winters to see what could be located in the Basel University
Library. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter just received from
Bro. Winters of date April 6th, 1922, which I thought would be interesting
to you, and if you can furnish any other reference or more information
with reference to this matter, I should be glad to receive the same and give
Bro. Winters the opportunity of further research. 16

The Robert H. Watts of South Weber mentioned in President
Grant’s letter emigrated from Council Point, Iowa, with his wife
Elizabeth and their seven children in 1850, settling first at Brown’s Fort
and later at South Weber in Utah. The elder Watts died 28 March 1879
at South Weber, 17 so that if the facts of the letter are correct, he must

17 See film 422, 352, Patrons Section 1962, Library, Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
have been aware of the "prophecy" of Lutius Gratianus years before it was published by Jacob Spori in the *Juvenile Instructor*. Such can hardly have been the case, however, inasmuch as it seems clear that Spori himself was the author of the "prophecy." Supporting this view is the fact that there is no mention of Robert H. Watts as a missionary to Switzerland between his arrival in Utah and his death three decades later. That in turn casts doubt on his ability to have access to and to read the works of Samuel Lutz. Equally puzzling would be the matter of there being no record of public disclosure of the "prophecy" prior to Watts's death in 1879 and no attempt to connect him with it until an apparent note to that effect was sent to President Grant about 1920 by Robert N. Watts.

Current restrictions on LDS General Authorities' papers which are preserved in the Historical Division Archives prevent further research into President Grant's investigation of the "prophecy." But mission presidents also continued to receive requests from members of the Church, asking that they verify something which had never existed. Hugh J. Cannon, for example, included in the quarterly report which was submitted from the Swiss Mission in 1927 a response to one such request by Bishop David A. Smith:

You refer in your letter of the 10th of June, 1926, to a prophecy supposed to have been made by one Lutius Gratiano in his book "Zion's Hoffnung," or "The Hope of Zion," printed in the year 1739 and at present to be found in the library of the University of Basel, Switzerland.

As this question has come to our attention frequently of late, we are prepared to answer your inquiry without any trouble. In the Improvement Era for January, 1908, and on page 161 of that issue you will find an article entitled: "A Fraudulent Prophecy Exposed." This article was written by Elder Rulon S. Wells with the intent of doing exactly what the title says. We refer you to this number of the Era for first hand information on the matter. I might add that since Brother Wells looked into this matter, one of our brethren had the book in hand, and very carefully read it through, with the same result that Brother Wells and others had.

A similar note was contained in the 12 June 1928 edition of the *Liabona—The Elders' Journal*, a biweekly publication of the LDS missions in America. The editor, Elder Hugh Ireland, commented:

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18 This conclusion is based on a search of the Manuscript History of the Swiss, Italian, and German Mission 1861–1867, vol. 4, LDS Church Archives, which contains a list of those elders who labored in these missions between 1850 and 1883; see also the Supplement to vol. 1, which gives biographical data on many missionaries of the nineteenth century but fails to list anyone named Robert H. Watts.

19 Manuscript History of the Swiss–German Mission, vol. 8, 1921–1930 (under date of 30 September 1927).
Our attention has been called to the following statement, which has appeared in print several times in recent years, and we deem it a duty to make known the truth regarding it, as it is sometimes quoted in the mission field as a divinely inspired prophecy: . . .

Following the citation of the "prophecy," Ireland noted:

That the prophecy is a bogus one is conclusively shown by Elder Rulon S. Wells, of the First Council of Seventy, in an article entitled "A Fraudulent Prophecy Exposed," appearing in the Improvement Era of January 1908.20

It is thus evident that, despite official attempts to discourage the use of the "prophecy" by the missionaries throughout the Church since at least 1901, this artifact of Mormon folklore had developed a life of its own.

Folklore tells us much about the collective hopes and fears of a particular social group, and such is clearly the case with the persistence of the "prophecy" of Lutius Gratianus.21 Each generation of Mormons since the time of Jacob Spori has had to deal with this spurious report, often totally oblivious to previous attempts to disprove it. Like myself, many readers must have assumed that the discovery of this prediction was contemporary to themselves. Along with other items of Mormon folklore, this tale had a certain "faith-promoting" quality which assured its perpetuation. And some have doubtless felt that even if it were of suspect origin, it ought to be true; certainly an event so vital to the salvation of mankind as the restoration of the true gospel of Jesus Christ could have been revealed to righteous men of a preceding age. This thought spurred Church members to continue their enquiries concerning the mysterious 1739 edition of Die Hoffnung Zions, until finally the University of Basel Library requested that one of the most esteemed members of the university faculty conduct an independent investigation.

In a memorandum published in 1952, Professor Ernst Staehelin, a specialist in ecclesiastical history, confirmed what others had previously stated, namely, that a 1739 edition of the work by Lutz cum Gratianus was not to be found. "Despite all our searching," he noted, a Basel edition of 1739, as mentioned in the articles in "Juvenile Instructor" and in "Stern," has not yet been found. And even if it should exist, it would be, considering Samuel Lutz' mode of viewing things, very unlikely, nay as good as impossible, that it should contain the alleged reference to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

Commenting on the details of the "prophecy" as rendered by Spori, Staehelin continued:

Neither the first edition of the work nor the enlarged edition contain any indication of the one hundred years of which J. Sporri speaks, and also no indication of a prophet who would then appear, nor an indication of the "valley that lies towards a great lake," the temples, and the renewed priesthood.

According to this evidence, one is inclined to believe that the writer of the article of 1893 would mean the Basel edition of 1737, and that he tried consciously or unconsciously, to pick out an indication of the Church of the Mormons from the long-winded and not always lucid writings of Lutz.22

Staehelin stopped short of actually branding Jacob Spori as the fabricator of the "prophecy" attributed to Samuel Lutz, realizing from a review of Spori's life that he was a man of ability who enjoyed public trust both in Switzerland and in the Intermountain regions of America. Spori did not appear to have been the sort of man who would knowingly deceive his readers. In fact, Staehelin proposed an elaborate scheme for verifying the validity of Spori's contentions, all of which seems unnecessary in the light of our discussion.

Since 1908, no general publication of the Church had published the text of the "prophecy." Numerous "missionary" copies of it existed, however, and these appear to have circulated widely. Continued reference to it after the publication of Staehelin's study may have been the result of its inclusion in popular collections of "gospel-related" thoughts, such as the small volume entitled Story Gems which Albert Zobell, Jr., published in 1953.23 From this and similar works, the LDS generation of the 1950s drew ideas for "2-1/2 minute talks" in Sunday School, talks in priests' cottage meetings, and other occasions. The uncritical acceptance of the "prophecy," however, prompted a serious attempt to deal with the nagging questions pertaining to it. Unfortunately, George F. Hilton's paper entitled "How Valid Is the Prophecy of Samuel Lutz?" served only to muddy the water once again. Rather than seeking to establish the validity of the book from which Spori claimed the citation was taken, Hilton accepted the existence of the 1739 edition of Die Hoffnung Zions, resting his thesis upon the fact that both Spori and Muhlestein occupied positions of importance and trust in the Mormon community in their later lives, thus suggesting that

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22Staehelin, "Eine angebliche Weissagung," 7-11. The suggestion that the definitive study would involve searching the archives of East Germany (the current headquarters for the Pietists) for unpublished writings by Lutz was followed by Christianson, who notes, "In Search of the Sensational," 38, that such do not exist.

23Story Gems, comp. Albert L. Zobell (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1953), 41-42.
they must have been truthful men. He likewise subscribed to the conspiracy theory of history which Muhlestein had proposed, drawing an analogy with the antagonistic clergy who in former times are said to have removed portions of holy writ which were not to their liking: "It is within the realm of possibility that enemies of the Church removed 'the prophecy' from the book and later removed all copies from circulation. This is of course conjecture, but certainly possible." 24

Hilton's entire argument is specious. He uses the "authority" of Hyrum Muhlestein (who later become a patriarch in the LDS church) to quell any opposition to the possible existence of a 1739 edition of the book. He would have us believe that the "prophecy" was first removed from that edition, accounting for the inability of Wells, McDonald, McMurrin, and others to locate it after Muhlestein's public lecture in 1894. He would then argue that all copies of the 1739 edition were ultimately removed from the shelves of all the libraries in the world in a concerted attempt to thwart the efforts of the Mormons in using it for their own purposes. To argue from the analogy of Jewish and Early Christian scholars' removing eschatological writings from the canon of scripture is to ignore the fact that the suppression of a handful of manuscripts was relatively simple when compared to the task of eliminating several hundred copies of printed volumes. Why, after expunging the "prophecy" itself, was it thought even necessary to eliminate the books in which it allegedly was to be found? Why did those who looked for the "prophecy" between 1897 and 1922 find no evidence of mutilated books? Even more fundamental is the question of why there is no mention of a 1739 edition in the catalogues of books printed before 1800. Why have no copies of the 1739 edition which might have been overlooked in the bookburning (be they in private collections or misfiled) ever been located?

The integrity of Jacob Spori as principal of the Bannock Stake Academy, reinforced by the testimony of Patriarch Muhlestein, has thus deterred serious inquiries into the authenticity of the "prophecy." Members of the Church refused to accept the possibility that such men would intentionally deceive their coreligionists. Three generations of missionaries had obtained copies of it, had referred to it in their proselyting activities, and had apparently ignored counsel from their leaders against its further propagation. In 1959 it became the common property of the five thousand and more missionaries then serving throughout the world through its inclusion in the Missionary Pal, which was compiled by Thomas Keith Marston. The version of the

"prophecy" in this instance was somewhat different from those which had previously appeared in print, however. The spelling of the author's name had gone almost beyond recognition, and for the first time to my knowledge, "Lutius Gratus" was identified as a Catholic priest.25

Mormon missionaries in Germany and Switzerland were undoubtedly also influenced by the presence of Samuel E. Bringhurst, who served as the first president of the Swiss Temple and, briefly during 1960, acted as president of the South German Mission. The version of the "prophecy" attributed to him gives the author as "Lutius Gratus," the same spelling as contained in the German translation which I copied later that same year. It is thus reasonable to assume that the notation in my fellow elder's black notebook owed its existence to some statement made by President Bringhurst.26

Further spreading of the "prophecy" tradition occurred during early 1961 when Ned Redding made mention of it in the column "Doings" of the California Intermountain News, a publication for Mormons in Southern California:

PROPHECY . . . The following statement was handed to us recently and is supposed to have been written by one LUTUIS GRATING in the year 1739. We are told the original document may be found in the Switzerland University at Basil, Switzerland.27

The carelessness in transmitting the tradition is seen in the garbled author's name and location of the original document. Some minor details of the "prophecy" itself had also been altered.

Redding's column drew a quick response from Ronald G. Somers of Pasadena, California, who noted that

I heard this same document given by a seminary student at a Sacrament Meeting in South Pasadena Ward. I wrote to President Joseph Fielding Smith March 23, 1960 to ask him about this prophecy by a Swiss monk. He wrote back the following: "Tell this young man and everyone else to forget all about his story. It is not so." I hope that you will let everyone know in your column so that the truth may be known.28

While expressing appreciation for Somers's comments, Redding appeared unwilling to let the issue drop at that point. Revealing the same lack of editorial responsibility which Rulon S. Wells had criticized in 1908, he naively asked: "Has anyone checked the Switzerland

26See note 15.
University Library at Basil? . . . We are told the original, dated in 1739, may be found there.” 29

The answer to Redding’s question was swift in coming. That a great many members of the Church had checked with the Basel University Library became evident from a form letter received by one Liselotte Haertl, sent by the chief librarian at the library under date of 4 May 1959. The letter presented the contents of the investigation conducted by Ernst Staehehelin, which due to the lively interest in the “prophecy” had been translated into English. Haertl in turn provided Redding with a copy of that correspondence. The intrepid Redding was not fully satisfied with the response, however, and he appended to the library’s reply this editorial comment:

(Note to Ernst Staehehelin, D.D.: We do not expect Lutz’s writings to spell out the name of the Church, nor are we concerned with the year 1739, give or take a few years. What we want to know is this: Did Lutz write in the volumes of “Die Hoffnung Zions” anything like the English translation of the story printed two weeks ago in this column? 20

Had he but known it, Redding had touched upon the crux of the entire issue of the “prophecy” by Samuel Lutz. It was precisely the matter of the date 1739 which had been central since Jacob Spori first insisted that the prediction was to be found in that edition of Die Hoffnung Zions.

Redding’s repeated raising of the issue of the “prophecy” at length resulted in a response from Lauritz C. Peterson, assistant librarian of the Church, who noted that

several have checked with the University Library of Basel . . . but have failed to find the prophecy recorded. Those who have checked were President Rulon S. Wells, of the First Council of Seventy, President David L. McDonald, President of the Swiss Mission in 1901, and Elder Max Zimmer . . . .

The prophecy was introduced to the Saints by Elder Jacob Spori . . . . It was written by memory sometime after Brother Spori returned from his mission.

The Church Historian’s Office holds no credency to the prophecy, and its circulation should be discontinued. 31

Renewed and prolonged preoccupation with the “prophecy” led to its inclusion in an M.A. thesis by Don L. Penrod, entitled “Critical

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 26 January 1961, 1, 6. As late as 29 September 1976 copies of this form letter were being sent to those who requested information on the “prophecy” of Lutius Grattianus; under that date a response was sent to an unnamed person at 326 Kingston Road, Ashford, Middlesex, England (copy in the possession of this writer).
31 Ibid., 2 February 1961, 1, 8.
Analysis of Certain Apocryphal Reports in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as Related by Members of the Church." 32 Despite this impressive title, however, Penrod's treatment of the "prophecy" is not as critical or analytical as it should be; content to cite the comments of Rulon S. Wells regarding Spori as the inventor of the story, he adds nothing to our understanding of its history; certainly he fails to come to grips with the problems which had arisen since its first publication in 1893.

There is no reason to doubt the integrity of Jacob Spori. It seems obvious that his enthusiasm for the writings of Samuel Lutz caused him to write the "prophecy," which was a summary of the former's writings as refracted through the mind of a convert to Mormonism. Without the actual text of Die Hoffnung Zions before him, Spori unconsciously superimposed Mormon ideas upon the rather rambling notions which he could recall from memory of the Bernese Pietist. Unfortunately, his giving of the date of publication for the work as 1739 at Basel has led many a searcher after the "prophecy" on a wild-goose chase. A 1739 edition does not now exist because it never did. Had Spori been totally candid with his readers in 1893, he would have also revealed that the text of the "prophecy" was not to be found anywhere. Rather, it was at best a paraphrasing of Lutz's writings. Even the garbled name has added to the confusion and the prolongation of the debate over the validity of the "prophecy."

It is more difficult to find an excuse for Christian Hyrum Muhlestein, who in his zeal to uphold the integrity of Spori—whom he perhaps knew from the Brigham Young Academy and as an honorable member of the Church—maintained that the 1739 edition of Die Hoffnung Zions actually existed. His description of that book makes it totally improbable that this was the case. It is simply inconceivable that all the libraries of the world would have responded to the request by some threatened Swiss Protestants and that all existing copies of the 1739 edition would have been removed from circulation, from the card catalogues, and from the published catalogues of books printed before 1800.

Other accretions to the tradition of the "prophecy" have occurred since Spori wrote it. Muhlestein seems to be the source for the notion that the book in which it was to be found was located only in the Basel University Library, as well as for the charge of a conspiracy to prevent further access to the book by Mormons. This same motif was associated

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32 Presented in August 1971 to the Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University; see pp. 42-45.
with the “prophecy” at the time I copied it in 1960 but had been modified to fit a new set of circumstances. And whereas Spori must have known that Samuel Lutz was a Protestant, by 1956 (when Keith Marston died) the author of Die Hoffnung Zions had become a Catholic priest; references to him in 1959/1960 have transformed him into a Catholic monk. Just where these latter ideas originated is presently unknown, however.

POSTSCRIPT

In March 1980, the French-language magazine of the LDS church, L’Étoile (The Star), published an item of interest in the column “Nouvelles de l’Église” (Church News):

(Article écrit par un prêtre catholique a Bale, Suisse, 1737) . . . (Cet article se trouve dans la Bibliothèque de Bale, en Suisse. Écrit par Luitus Gratianus en l’an 1737, et publié dans son ouvrage: “Hope of Zion” [L’espoir de Sion].)³³

Like the phoenix of mythology, the “prophecy” of Lutius Gratianus continues to rise from its own ashes and to be spread wherever missionaries and members of the Church seek to buttress scriptural references to the Restoration with evidence from secular sources. With the appearance of this apocryphal writing in France, the curious history of the “prophecy” has come full circle: the publication date is now given as 1737, whether as a conscious effort to deal with the numerous statements that a 1739 edition does not exist, or as a mere scribal error; the spelling of the author’s name has become even more convoluted (perhaps deriving from that found in the Missionary Pal); and, consistent with references since at least 1956, he is presented as a Catholic priest from Basel.

Truly, the words of a wise man of old ring clear even today:

The thing which hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun.

Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old times, which was before us.

There is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those things that shall come after.

(Ecclesiastes 1:9–11)

³³“L’Esper de Sion,” L’Étoile (March 1980), 16.
Reading Habits of Church-Active LDS Women

Marianne Appleton and A. Garr Cranney

Reading research about members of the LDS church is scarce. While scattered and fragmentary data exist from unpublished studies, little has been made available to public view. These studies cover diverse subjects such as reading skills of missionaries, readability levels of Church materials and scripture, description–evaluations of Church literacy projects, family scripture reading practices, comprehension of Church materials in different languages, reading problems in seminary populations, and the reading habits of Brigham Young University students. Except for the original survey by Appleton on which this study is based, however, we are aware of no research, published or unpublished, on the reading habits of LDS adults that is comparable to the several cross-sectional surveys of the reading habits of North American adults of varied socio-economic and educational backgrounds. These surveys tend to produce uniform results: women between the ages of 21 and 40 who are housewives and who are in the highest income brackets make up the largest group of readers. In view of this predominance of women readers, we thought it might be interesting to survey selected North American LDS women to discover what they read, how much time they spend reading, and where their reading material was obtained, and to relate this data to characteristics of the group, including age, education, employment, income, marital status, length of Church membership, and children in the home.

For the survey, a 21-item forced-choice questionnaire was constructed which asked for information about reading during the

Marianne Appleton is a librarian in the Canadian school system; A. Garr Cranney is an associate professor of secondary education at Brigham Young University.

1R. Marianne Appleton, "Reading Habits of Selected Mormon Women from Ten Geographical Areas in North America" (research project, Brigham Young University School of Library and Informational Sciences, August 1981).

previous 12 months (1980–81). The questionnaire was pretested on three occasions before it was put into final form. Then, with bishopric permission, the questionnaires were distributed in ward Relief Society meetings to be completed at home. Of the 233 questionnaires distributed, 149 or 64% were returned. Because of the circumstances in which the survey was conducted, all of the respondents were assumed to be active members of the LDS church. The completed questionnaires (which were anonymous) were marked as to geographical area and numerically coded. Then the information was transferred to punch cards and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data collected. The Frequencies subprogram was used to determine numbers and percentages. The Crosstabs subprogram was used to measure the association of one variable to another. The data from each geographical area were also examined and compared.

Ten North American geographical areas representing Canada and the United States were chosen for the sample. They included the North, South, East, and West, and large, medium, and small cities and towns. No rural areas were studied. The specific areas represented and the percent of the total returns received from each were Calgary, Alberta, 13%; Houston, Texas, 4%; Idaho Falls, Idaho, 15%; Kamloops, British Columbia, 12%; Kenora, Ontario, 3%; Salt Lake City, Utah, 8%; Santa Rosa, California, 10%; Scarsdale, New York, 15%; Provo, Utah, 14%; and Yakima, Washington, 8%.

The age distribution of the group included 21% in the 18–25 age bracket, 38% in the 26–40 group, 31% between 41 and 60, and 11% over 61 years of age. Of the respondents, 31% had earned a four-year college degree or more, 34% had some higher education, and 21% had completed high school. For those with post-secondary education, 43% listed education as a major field of study, 14% science, 19% business, and 32% other fields. Seventy-two percent of the total group were married, and 28% were single, widowed, or divorced. Total annual gross income in the homes (including spouse income) was in these ranges: under $10,000, 23%; $10,000–$20,000, 26%; $21,000–$40,000, 36%; $41,000–$80,000, 13%; and over $80,000, 3%. Twelve percent of the respondents had been members of the Church for less than 10 years, 19% for 11–20 years, and 70% for more than 20 years. Thirty-five percent of the sample were employed for pay out of the home, and 57% were not employed. Among those working for pay, 35% indicated that they worked less than 30 hours per week, 39% worked 31–40 hours, and 16% worked more than 40
hours per week. Respondents with children in the home under 18 years of age comprised 66% of the sample.3

How much time was spent reading? Tables 1, 2, and 3 present the data. Most of the women read both generally and in the scriptures.

Excluding scripture reading, 60% of the sample read more than 20 hours per month, and 36% spent 1–10 hours per month reading (Table 1). Sixty-five percent of the respondents read the scriptures 1–10 hours per month, or about 20 minutes a day at most (Table 2). Table 3 relates general and scripture reading time. It indicates, for example, that 23.4% of those who read generally 1–10 hours per month also read the scriptures 1–10 hours in the same period, and that 21.4% of those who read 1–10 hours generally also read the scriptures 11–20 hours per month.

Apart from the scriptures, what did the group read? Ninety-seven percent read the Ensign, 45% the New Era, and 69% the Church News. The most commonly read non-Church magazine was Reader’s Digest; 67 women (45%) listed it. Family Circle and Good Housekeeping were each listed 36 times (24%), and Better Homes and Gardens and Woman’s Day were each listed 35 times (24%). Time was listed 30 times (20%), National Geographic 28 (19%), and Newsweek 24 (16%). In all, 125 magazine titles were mentioned, ranging from professional journals to recreation magazines.

The single most frequently read Church book was Spencer W. Kimball, which was mentioned 43 times (29%). Camilla was listed 29 times (20%) and The Miracle of Forgiveness 23 times (15%). Some Mormon classics, such as Jesus the Christ and Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, were mentioned several times, as were a number of popular Mormon fiction titles of the period, including Sam, Charly, and The Bishop’s Horserace. The non-Mormon fiction books most often listed were Shogun, My Antonia, Kane and Abel, and Masada. Many other best sellers of the period (1980–81) were mentioned as well as older titles such as Gone with the Wind and Pride and Prejudice. There was a great diversity of types of fiction: literary, mystery, historical romance, humor, science fiction, and juvenile. There were only two titles which would be considered Gothic romances. The nonfiction books listed indicated a wide range of interests in subjects such as finance, history, science, politics, poetry, and genealogy. One topic more common than others was the family, including such areas as birth, death, rearing children, gardening, cooking, marriage,
TABLE 1
General Reading Per Month Excluding Scripture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Time</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 hour</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 10 hours</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 20 hours</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20 hours</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2
Scripture Reading Per Month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Time</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 hour</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 10 hours</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 20 hours</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20 hours</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

divorce, and house management. The only title in this category repeated more than twice was Orphan Train.

Although 43 women (29%) indicated they read only one newspaper, the majority of the women polled read more than one: 47 (32%) read two, 25 (17%) three, 18 (12%) four, and 10 (7%) reported reading five newspapers. The local newspaper was the most common one read.

In response to the question of where they obtained their reading materials, 25 (17%) said the church library, 68 (47%) the public library, 29 (20%) a university or college library, 142 (99%) their own collection, and 75 (52%) indicated that they borrowed from someone. (These figures total more than 100% because some women obtained materials from more than one source.)

The traditional relationship between reading and education was supported by the findings. The more education the women had, the more they read. Whereas 50% of those with a master's degree or more read over 20 hours a month, only 25% of those with a high school education or less read 20 hours per month. However, 64% of these women read at least 10 hours per month, suggesting that while there is
Reading Habits of Church-Active LDS Women

TABLE 3
A Comparison of the Number of Hours of General Reading Per Month (V1) with the Number of Hours of Scripture Reading Per Month (V2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>V1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col Pct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot Pct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 hour</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 10 hours</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 20 hours</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20 hours</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a relationship between higher education and time spent reading, those without higher education still did some reading.

Marital status did not seem to have much relationship to either general or scripture reading, nor did the presence or absence of children under 18 in the home. The married women in this group read as much as the single women. Single women, however, spent slightly more time reading scripture. Women who had been members of the LDS church for more than 20 years tended to spend more time reading the scriptures than newer members: 67% of the 20-year members read the scriptures more than 11 hours per month. The survey also indicated that many employed women found time to read. Among those who worked for 31 or more hours per week, 35% read more than 21 hours per month, and 31% of this same group read the scriptures up to 10 hours per month.
There was a relationship between age and amount of general reading. Of those who read more than 20 hours per month, 89% were in the 26–60 age group, including 44% in the 26–40 group and 45% in the 41–60 group. However, the age of women in this study seemed to have little relationship to the number of hours of scripture reading. The largest group of women reading up to 10 hours of scripture per month was in the 26–40 age group and comprised 25% of the total group.

In general, there seemed to be little relationship between income and amount of scripture reading. Of the women polled, 35% were in the household gross income range of $21,000–$40,000; 28% of that group read up to 10 hours of scripture per month. Those women who had a total household income of $41,000–$80,000 and who read over 20 hours per month of scripture were 36% of the group in that income range.

Methodologically, the study is not without fault. The percentage of returns (64%) was lower than desirable, and rural data were not included. In such survey research, one always wonders how data from the nonrespondents would have affected the findings. Or what if the questionnaires had been distributed in some other meeting than Relief Society? Would the results have been the same? The anonymity of the questionnaires might also have been improved. Though the questionnaires were unsigned, they were not returned in sealed envelopes. This might have intimidated some subjects, each of whom was asked to return her questionnaire to someone who was an acquaintance. Consequently, some subjects might not have returned questionnaires or might have written socially desirable but inaccurate responses. In addition, the survey relied on the memory of subjects to indicate what they had read in the previous 12 months or the past week. As every researcher knows, memory-based data are often imperfect measures. A further weakness of the study was the ranges of the scripture reading categories. More restricted ranges would have provided more useful data. Finally, though the questionnaire was piloted three times, a few items were obviously misunderstood by some respondents; such items could have been improved.

From the data of this survey, it would be possible to define a composite woman. She was between 26 and 40 years of age and had an annual gross family income between $21,000 and $40,000. She had attended college, majoring in education, but was not employed for pay outside her home. She was married and had children under the age of 18. She had been a member of the LDS church for more than 20 years, was currently active, and read the scriptures for about 20 minutes each.
Reading Habits of Church-Active LDS Women

day. For about 30 minutes a day she also read a newspaper and/or magazine and/or book which she had purchased or received as a gift.

Of what significance is the study to LDS reading educators? Despite the limitations of the study, four important generalizations can be drawn. First, Church-active LDS women, at least in this sample, do follow the encouragement of the Church leaders to read the scriptures and Church periodicals. Second, apart from the specifically LDS reading material, the reading habits and tastes of this group are not markedly different from those found in non-LDS reading surveys. They read best-sellers, classics, fiction and nonfiction, and newspapers. They read the same magazines with about the same frequency as U.S. readers as a whole. Like most other adults, they prefer to read books they own rather than obtain them at the library. Third, Mormon women have similar reading habits no matter where they live in North America. Geographical location and size of community do not seem to have much bearing on either the time spent reading or the reading materials chosen. Fourth, LDS women with less than a higher education are readers. While more education generally means more reading, those with less education are reading more than would be predicted from studies of other adults of similar educational backgrounds.

When viewed in the light of LDS teachings, which emphasize the study of scriptures, “all good books,” and the acquisition of learning generally, this survey is encouraging. It is to be hoped, however, that more research will be directed toward studying the reading practices of Latter-day Saints. Most educators believe that reading has an influence on thinking and on the conduct and values of life. The influence of Church membership and activity on reading, however, is much less understood. If, as commonly assumed, moral and religious values are central to Latter-day Saint life, these things should have some effect on reading choices, habits, and practices. There is a wide field open for research on these relationships. For example, do the time spent reading and the choices of reading materials correlate in any way with varying degrees of church activity and belief? Does strength of religious commitment determine what is and what is not read? How do Latter-day Saints compare with members of Protestant and Catholic groups in their reading habits? It is to be hoped that LDS reading educators and others will give more attention to the religious variable, a neglected area in adult reading research.

Wintering

Nothing clouds the moon round
in the early sky,
and grasses stand stiff, slicked
with the silver of first frost.

Two geese cleave
the silence with the even beat
of wings, grey in morning grey.
Pulled towards wintering,
one veers, the other with it,
and then a dip into the smooth
move of their southern bent.

We cannot know
if sun or stars compel, or winds,
or if it is a listening
to the sea a thousand miles away,
but such mating shapes the space
between them in an easy hold.

And you and I, love—
we, too, must trust the patternings,
we, too, must trust and leave unsaid
all things lost to consciousness.

—Loretta M. Sharp

Loretta M. Sharp teaches at the Interlochen Arts Academy, Interlochen, Michigan, where she established the writing program in 1976.
Poetry and the Private Lives: 
Newspaper Verse on the Mormon Frontier

Maureen Ursenbach Beecher

A handful of verses eventually led to the founding in 1872 of the *Woman's Exponent* and the choosing of Louisa Lula Greene as its first editor. A student in the first class of the University of Utah, the twenty-year-old northern Utah girl needed train fare back home to Smithfield and so offered the poems to an editor on the Salt Lake *Herald* in exchange for the exact price of a ticket. Quite taken with the verses, and with their writer, the editor later persuaded her to return to Salt Lake City and assume editorship of a paper for women which he would underwrite.¹

The *Exponent* published for forty-two years, from 1872 until 1914 when it was replaced by the *Relief Society Magazine*, official publication of the women's organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Amidst a variety of feature and news articles—some local, some lifted, some polemic, and many feminist—there was from the outset poetry. In the tradition of the newspapers in the eastern United States—from which area most of the leading lights among Mormon women came—it contained always a poetry corner, not labeled such, but invariably positioned in the upper left-hand corner of the front page. Besides this prominent token to verse, there were often other pieces scattered through the eight to sixteen pages of the semimonthly tabloid-sized paper.

It is natural on several counts that poetry should have been featured so prominently. The propensities of its first editor, the young Miss Greene, and of her successor, Emmeline B. Wells, alone would account for a spot for poetry, even if the tradition had not been there to direct them. It is not to that question that this article addresses itself.

¹The *Woman's Exponent*, in its full forty-two-year run, is available in hard copy in only two repositories: the Harvard University Library and the Archives of the Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). That institution, however, has been generous in providing microfilm copies to many individuals and libraries, so access is not difficult. Some private collectors have full runs of the magazine.
for the conventions of the poetry corner are still with us, testimony to an undying tradition. This paper has more to do with the women who wrote and submitted their verses to the *Exponent* than with its editors and their policies. Why these women wrote as they did, even why they wrote at all is a larger question. For these were not “poets” such as those of literary judgment might acknowledge. It takes no great literary sensitivity to realize that newspaper poetry a hundred years ago was for the most part superficial, bland, unimaginative, derived from known forms and themes, spelling out its message in language more akin to prose than to poetry except for a self-conscious adherence to rhyme and rhythm.

Some of the unspoken motives which insured the continuation of poetry-writing in so unlikely a region as the desert of the Great Basin and so inappropriate a time as the early frontier days have to do with the women and their sense of their own identity. Perhaps it was true for the men, as historian Frederick Jackson Turner posited, that the western frontier would demand of its inhabitants a new society, a civilization unique to its roughness. For the women, however, that would not, could not be so. Frontier women generally, not just Utah’s Mormon women, required from their new environment more than mere survival, and from their earliest entry into the Salt Lake Valley Mormon women found ways of affirming their place in and responsibility for preserving the civilization from which they had come. So we find Patty Sessions, not even two weeks into the forbidding new land, spending two whole days making artificial flowers for a coming wedding, and Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball then and for decades afterwards arguing in vain that their women should wear homespun designed in a bloomer-like costume appropriate to Utah’s dust and muddy streets. The similarity of their adornment to that currently in vogue in the East was the women’s thermometer measuring their own self-worth as civilized women, equal in every regard to their sisters back home whose scorn for their strange religion and even stranger practices demanded response.²

The writing of poetry was another means of asserting to themselves and (they wished) to their critical eastern sisters that they were not the poor, ignorant, downtrodden dupes of harem lords they were portrayed to be. It is not coincidence that the one woman who would figure most consistently as the queen bee in Deseret society, Eliza Roxcy Snow, achieved her first praise as “Zion’s poetess,” a title

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²The theme of gentility among frontier women is developed in the author’s paper “Women’s Work on the Mormon Frontier,”*Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 276-90.
awarded her by Joseph Smith. Fine writing, like fine dress, bespoke a
gentility which the women craved.

An overview of the contents of the first decade of the Exponent, the years 1872–82, might help assess the tradition. The issues of that period, published on the first and fifteenth of every month, yield more than four hundred complete poems. In style they show very little imagination. The verses seem more bound to replicate past forms than to attempt even moderate alterations. Occasionally there would be a five-line stanza, or a twelve-line collection of couplets titled “Sonnet,” or, from one young writer, a few poems experimenting with iambic pentameter lines ending with structure words:

But no, it could not thus remain and God’s great
Plan of being perfected, so Adam fell that
Man might be: might know both good and
Evil, might choose and win eternal life.3

Such infelicities might be overlooked as unhappy accidents, but they persist throughout the issues—such failures of the poet’s craft as make holy things profane and sincere sentiments ludicrous, most noticeably by the jarring juxtaposing of a verse pattern inappropriate to the thought of the poem. The singsong quality of the iambic 3–4–3–4 verses demeans the sense of the following poem:

His Truth is pure, it must endure,
For Right it sanctions ever:
His law we deem the Truth supreme—
'Tis just, and wrongs us never.4

Granted, several hymns in the canon scan this way, but somehow sixteen such stanzas can’t but reduce the lofty thoughts to the rum-te-tutum more appropriate to Gilbert and Sullivan opera.

One verse on a serious theme took the form of a series of limericks strung together:

If a stormcloud be over us riven,
The very next thing that we know—
Right over us bending—
A glory transcending,
Is the promised, the beautiful Bow.5

Years before the Exponent began publication, Charley Walker, the irreverent rhymester of the southern Utah “Dixie Mission” wrote a

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3Hope [pseud.], “Three Sabbath Mornings,” Woman’s Exponent 4 (1 September 1875): 49.
cheerful complaint of the hardships of that experience usually titled "St. George and the Drag-on." One chorus goes:

The wind with fury here doth blow
That when we plant or sow, Sir,
We place one foot upon the seeds,
And hold 'em till they grow, Sir!^6

The pattern, to a syllable, is repeated later by an Exponent contributor who lived just thirty miles upriver from Walker. One would hate to suspect conscious imitation, realizing what satirical effect would result if the following verse were sung to Walker's bouncy tune:

For this is the truth we will maintain,
Until our dying day, Sir!
That Jesus Christ our King shall reign,
And righteousness bear sway, Sir.\(^7\)

Be it said to their credit that when these writers set out to follow a pattern, they could usually bring it off—often, however, with boring regularity which allowed for no deviation for sense or effect. In 1881, perhaps tiring of endless reading of unrhymed or unscanned verses, editor Emmeline Wells published this lifted poem of James G. Clark with the following superscript:

Competent literary critics have pronounced the following poem unsurpassed by any other production of its class in our language. It is perfect in rhyme, beautiful in figure and expression:

Leona, the hour draws nigh,
The hour we've waited so long,
For the angel to open a door in the sky,
That my spirit may break from its prison and try
Its voice in an infinite song.\(^8\)

The model seems to have had no effect on subsequent submissions; the old forms remained. As consistent as the versifiers might have been, they seldom achieved that unity of form and substance which is poetry.

However one might disparage the poetic skill of the women who wrote for the Exponent, the content ought not to be dismissed. What these women of the frontier's second generation wrote—and what

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6 "St George and the Drag-On" is in the repertoire of most folksingers of Utah. These words are as it is sung by Rossie Sorrels. A slightly different version can be found in Thomas E. Cheney, ed., Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains: A Compilation of Mormon Folksong (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 113–15.
7 Jacob E. Terry, "The United Order," Woman's Exponent 5 (15 March 1875): 154. Terry is one of the few men whose writings appear in the magazine and one of two whose poetry is found in the present sample.
8 James G. Clark, "Leona," Woman's Exponent 10 (15 August 1881): 43.
they did not write—speaks obliquely but often eloquently about their concept of themselves and their lives. Earlier I suggested that the very act of composing verses was a statement of identity, an affirmation of gentility, of civilized womanhood. The conventional character of the poems may well be attributed to that need for conformity: the women were loath to alter their pattern lest their inventiveness reveal a qualitative difference between them and their eastern sisters and they be forced to admit that the rough isolation of the preceding decades had toughened their senses as it had reddened their faces.

Perhaps for the same reason, only certain topics were appropriate to *Exponent*’s poetry corner. By far the largest subject categories are didactic poems which teach the doctrines of the Latter-day Saints, which promote religious concepts generally, or which admonish readers towards moral rectitude. Of the four hundred-odd verses in the ten-year span, 115 were of this sort. The next largest category is predictable, considering the century and its conventions: poems responding to death, more particularly the death of a loved one. These overlap the next category, poems about children and mothers. (Fathers are seldom mentioned—perhaps a suggestion of female chauvinism or of the frequent absence of men from their homes?)

More than forty of the poems are those interminable occasional verses which even now plague Mormon celebrations: reflections on Christmas, Joseph Smith’s birthday, the Twenty-fourth of July, somebody’s marriage, New Year’s, whatever. They merge with the tribute poems, of which there are twenty-nine, not including the death-of-a-loved-one verses. Tribute is paid to such diverse people as Washington’s mother, Isabella of Spain, Mrs. Garfield (on the assassination of her husband), Bishop Edward Hunter (he got three poems on his eighty-sixth birthday!), and Mother Whitney, the grand old lady who sang songs in the gift of tongues.

There were travelogues (mostly from Eliza R. Snow on her trip to Palestine) and nature poems (mostly from Emmeline B. Wells, in the vein of “Our Mountain Home So Dear,” whose inclusion in the Mormon hymnal has long been questioned).

A predictable category for a woman’s magazine found itself split into two quite different modes. Romantic love was seen first in the traditional sense of the sentimental novel, improved by a note of pathos such as that suggested with the poem “You Kissed Me.”9 Lest readers should miss the foreshadowing of the final stanza, that “’Twere delicious to die if my heart could grow cold/While your arms

wrapt me round in that passionate hold!” they were informed in a prominent superscript that “the wedding was appointed, at 8 o’clock P.M. and the expectant bridegroom suddenly died at 6 P.M. only two hours before the time fixed for his marriage.” And then, to wrench from the reader her final tear, “Miss __________ was never married; but refused repeated subsequent offers.”

But there was also the Maud Muller twist, the imposition of reality on the romantic, as in one poem entitled “Mismated,” in which the dove, wed to a hawk, uncomplaining at the turbulence of the hawk-life, “with no visible sickness . . . drooped and died.”\(^{10}\) This is still romantic in its thrust (more realistically, I suppose, she would have become a hawk and fought back) but with a moral-bearing purpose. But most delightful to the jaded twentieth-century soul, perhaps, is the direction suggested in “My Sister,” by a Beaver, Utah, contributor. In this poem, the suave philanderer from the city summers in the country, for his health’s sake, where he “In idle moments sought to win/A maiden’s pure heart, undefiled.” The guileless maid, who is onto his tricks, delivers him a scathing, though reasoned, discourse on his wicked ways, concluding with the advice that he

\[\text{Return to town; and when you find} \]
\[\text{Such bride, midst fashion’s devotees,} \]
\[\text{Reflect your worth would not suffice} \]
\[\text{A simple country girl to please.}^{11}\]

What the women did not write about, however, intrigues me fully as much as what they did. Exponent readers and contributors were living frontier lives, if no longer in Salt Lake City, then in some part of Mormon country for the first half of Exponent’s run. But there is nary a verse in this first ten years of the paper to spell out the vicissitudes of pioneer life. It is as though to describe real suffering, physical or emotional, were to deprecate the community, and in that stage of Mormonism’s history to defame the community was to deny the faith.

A second practically unwritten category was polygamy. Those who knew them both might realize that when Emmeline Wells wrote a tribute to Elizabeth Whitney she was praising her sister wife, but an outsider would never see it. Yet it is not that the women were hesitant to discuss the subject: they turned out in droves to attend meetings defending polygamy; they wrote memorials to Congress; indeed, the prose columns of the Exponent are tediously full of the rhetoric of “the

\(^{10}\)Luna S. Peck, “Mismated,” Woman’s Exponent 6 (15 October 1877): 75.

Principle.” Only the poetry, with two exceptions, is hushed on the subject.

Women’s rights is another topic the *Exponent* found unpoeitic. Utah women had voted in a civic election, practically the first in the nation to do so, just two years before the *Exponent* was founded. The paper’s prose acknowledges that victory and cries consistently for even greater civic equality between the sexes, but despite the publication in *Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book*,12 full of rousing lyrics, and despite the editor’s own ardent feminism, hardly a poem in *Exponent*’s first decade echoes the cry.

And there is little laughter in *Exponent*’s verse. Five poems might be considered intentionally humorous, and some others for their Victorian quaintness amuse us now. But either the seriousness of the contributing sisters or editor Emmeline’s own melancholy kept *Exponent*’s pages free of loud laughter.

Prodded by Leon Edel, who reads so well the personal life of the writer from his literary outpourings, I determined to look at the poetry of these women for insight into their private lives. To give some balance to the investigation, I chose a few women whose prose autobiographies or diaries are available, to see what light one source might shed on the other. The interface proved fruitless of the kind of revelations I had hoped for; confessional poetry was as yet undiscovered, nontraditional, unacceptable to *Exponent* writers. What I found instead was the occasional glimpse of a poet’s real life, glazed over with a sheen of idealism which actually reveals as much as shared introspection might the difficulty of her circumstance.

Let four writers suggest what I mean. The first editor of the *Woman’s Exponent*, Lula Greene Richards, published a longish poem called “The Mother’s Dominion,” written 21 November 1877.13 In it she affirms that at no time could she permit a nursemaid to undertake the care of her children, even for a walk in the park: this from a woman whose writing did not cease with the birth of her children nor her resignation from the *Exponent*, who gave in her farewell to her readers the advice to be neither “selfishly home bound, [nor] foolishly public spirited,”14 and who, it is said by descendents, was more than happy to leave the care of her four growing boys to her sister wife Persis while she, Lula, pursued her literary interests. This smacks more of hypocrisy than merely idealizing of reality, until one realizes that “The

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12 *Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book* (Salt Lake City: Woman’s Exponent, n.d.).
Mother’s Dominion” was written just a few months following the
death of her second baby, the first having died a year earlier.

Those deaths inspired another poem, but only after a third child
had been born and proved healthy. In “We Can,” Lula affirms that
however attached we might be to a loved one, baby, youth, adult, even
prophet, “We can live, though bereft of the blessings,/Which seem
more than half our lives.” The poem concludes most soberly that “We
can do without all but our God,” leaving us in the Job condition with
nothing but faith as explanation.15 The gloss, however, is there in
another poem, an optimistic, Pippa-like expression of that faith. In
“The Children,” Lula admonishes her sisters similarly bereaved to
respond not with grief but with gladness, for “oh think! in the best
Resurrection,/What joy to embrace them again!”16 Part of the tone of
the Exponent poetry, where it deals with sobering life situations, is to
affirm, even in the depth of that sorrow, the brighter horizon ahead.

The second, and only other editor of the Exponent, Emmeline B.
Wells, composed, among her nature poems, a moving address of “The
Wife to Her Husband”:

It seems to me that should I die, And this poor body cold and lifeless lie.
And thou shouldst touch my lips with thy warm
breath, The life-blood quicken’d in each sep’rate vein, Would wildly,
madly rushing back again, Bring the glad spirit from the isle of death.17

The following stanzas suggest a relationship on all levels intimate and
exemplary, a love sublime, “friendship’s purest, highest tone,” and
though she does not say so outright, she implies that such a love was
hers—or at least of her “I” persona.

The letters, however, which passed from her to her husband give
the lie to such implication. One missive to him (whom, be it noted, she
shared with six other wives) begins,

Am I presuming to ask you to come to see me? It really seems as if I might
enjoy the privilege of your society for an hour or so two or three times in
the course of a year.18

Closer to the time of the poem, a diary entry reads:

All our folks nearly went to the Lake . . . but my husband was not to be
seen, O how I want to see him, how long the time seems, and how weary
I grow for one sight of his beloved face one touch of his dear hand; O how

15Lula [Greene Richards], “We Can,” Woman’s Exponent 7 (15 March 1879): 207.
18Emmeline B. Wells to Daniel H. Wells, 2 January 1862, autograph, Daniel H. Wells Papers, LDS Church
Archives.
Looking back now at the first stanza, the frame of the poem, I am more inclined to see a veiled death wish than a miraculous return to life, an expression of a deep and unresolved need to demonstrate to the absent husband the depth of her caring, and at the same time to punish him for failing to return the love. And yet, on its own, the poem reads as a model of supreme love worthy of emulation, ideal in every sense.

Lucinda Lee Dalton, of all the Exponent poets the least likely to idealize, submitted a poem entitled “To Ernest,” published in May 1873. She had at that time been married for five years to a man already married pluraly, and several years her senior, but of an attitude similar to hers on the equality of the sexes. Her autobiography relates in immediate and moving terms the prayerful beginning of that marriage, a moment of such high intensity as to inspire both celestial hope and dreadful fear. As Lavina Fielding Anderson writes, the marriage “should have been the beginning to an idyllic Mormon love story, not the prelude to a cancellation of sealing [divorce] several years later.”

“To Ernest” takes from Lucinda’s life story the moment of that prayer and, despite the fact that by the time of the writing the marriage was already deeply threatened, makes of it the heaven-blessed beginning “of that fair life we call Eternity.”

On those occasions, however, when Lu Dalton climbed on a feminist soapbox, there was usually no such optimistic resolution to the difficulties she described. A contributor writing under the pseudonym “Queery” raised the question of a woman’s right to proclaim her love, asking rhetorically if it were not idealistically and practically appropriate. Lu answered in a following issue of the Exponent, realistically pointing out the dangers of such admirable honesty in an “earth wherein guile brings us wo,” admonishing the young woman (for such she seems to be) to “lay not your armor aside!” Queery answers again, in a subsequent issue, that

Yet still, (must I own it?) there lingers
Far down in the depths of my heart,

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19 Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, 4 September 1874, autograph, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
22 Queery [pseud.], “Questions,” Woman’s Exponent 3 (15 November 1874): 90.
An ideal man true and noble
Who scorneth the recreant's part.24

Lucinda responds with a level-headed admission that some such men do exist—that she is indeed married to such a one—but that they are so few that her correspondent would do well to follow her own spiritual insight or, more likely, be prepared to wait for the right love.25

She has not heard the end of Queery, however. This time the issue is woman's secondary status, and the sorrow Lucinda feels while anticipating the future of her "Sweet woman-child" baby in her arms. Telling her infant daughter of the indignities to women, the worst of which is their dependence on men for even the approach to Divine Grace, she pleads to be assured by the baby, so recently come from that holy Presence, that women might have access to God "without a brother's hand outstretched between." In the child's eyes she reads as much solace as is there: in a future life, if not in this one, Magdalen-like, women would receive the precious word directly from their Savior.26 Queery, in a voice which reeks of expediency, tries to add the ideal view which Lucinda must have forgotten: after all, Christ himself was a man, "Thine Elder Brother," and the sister must "not shrink from Heaven's decree." And, most of all, she must not corrupt the babe by telling her of the "heart's bewildering fears" and should "break not the magic charm of infant trust."27 Magnanimously, it seems, Lucinda replies with a poem in praise of a husband, hers presumably, who makes no such sex-based distinctions, who proclaims,

No mine, no thine, no first nor last be known,
But we desire our Father's will be done.28

It's an evasion, but how else does one handle those who, like Queery, would provide facile answers to deep-rooted questions?

Once more Queery plays Job's comforter, this time with a younger writer, one who will rise to prominence and, her anger past, do her own glossing over reality in favor of the ideal. She is Susa Young, daughter of Brigham Young, at this point recently divorced from her first husband, Alma Dunford, who had won custody of their daughter Leah, then four years old. Susa uses that incident to flail out at the authority of men over women:

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26Lucinda Lee Dalton, "Questionings," Woman's Exponent 6 (1 April 1878): 161.
27Query [pseud.], "To Lu Dalton," Woman's Exponent 6 (1 May 1878): 177. Though the writer or editor has changed the spelling of the pseudonym from Queery to Query, there is no doubt that the writer is the same. To be consistent, the text will retain the original spelling.
Man's cruel word betrayed my heart,
And left it cold and bleeding,—
What cares that man, in all his pride,
For the wife's tears and pleading?  

On the same page with Susa Young's diatribe is a long editorial-toned demand that woman be granted her "most sacred right," "the custody of her children," seeing the issue as one basic to the winning of woman's rights. Queery, a month later, acknowledges that "some men may . . . falter" but argues for "loving hands" which "will hasten to lift the vail" between worldly and divine justice. But the final gloss comes in Queery's last stanza, as she argues an "all's right with the world" position:

He leads His servants as He willeth,
And through them His designs fulfilleth,
Then why repine?
For though ye may not know His meanings
Behind the clouds His smiles are beaming,
And soon thy pathway will be streaming
With light divine.

Why would editor Emmeline Wells permit a voice such as Queery's to oversimplify complexities which she herself acknowledged? Or, more generally, how could a whole generation of women write such "whatever is, is right" sentiments so in contrast with the lives they led? In a journal which amazes Mormon women of this century with its outspoken stand on women's issues, which speaks out so forthrightly of problems, however difficult of solution they seem, such covering up of disagreeable concepts seems wholly out of place. Comparison of the prosaic voice with the poetic suggests not duplicity, perhaps, as much as wish fulfillment. In speaking poetically of the ideal, the higher good, the heavenly vision, the women were reminding themselves of the better life they were promised as children of the covenant. Let prose speak the sordid truths; poetry would sing, albeit by the waters of Babylon, the songs of Zion.

29Susa [Young Gates], "By the Brook," Woman's Exponent 7 (15 October 1878): 73.
30Ma Goodwin, "Women’s Rights: The Theme of Latter Days," Woman's Exponent 7 (15 October 1878): 73.
31Query [pseud.], "To Susa," Woman's Exponent 7 (15 December 1878): 105.
Reversion

My father was born in the mountains of Mexico.
On his fifth birthday in El Paso, Texas,
That was nineteen ought five
He saw his first automobile
And got his first pair of shoes.

At thirteen he drove a six horse span
To break one hundred and sixty acres
Of Alberta prairies grassland for wheat,
Then moved to a college town
With his newly widowed mother
And became a town schoolboy,
And spent his summers breaking horses in Montana.

In college he studied agricultural economics
And played guard in the first football game he ever saw.
He taught school and coached,
And chased mustangs on the desert on weekends.

He became a renowned educator
Running schools with a multi-million dollar budget,
And had a field of black Angus cattle.

At eighty he still sat a horse well on his daily ride
And spoke of the problems and opportunities of youth.
He preached value of hard work and fiscal responsibility.
And the necessity of checking the cinch
Before you put your foot in the stirrup.

—John Sterling Harris

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Joseph Smith and the Gospel of Matthew

Robert L. Millet

Joseph Smith took seriously his divine charge to search and expound the scriptures, knowing the import of the Lord's words that "this generation shall have my word through you" (D&C 5:10). From his experience as a youth with James, chapter 1, to the time of his martyrdom, he was a man of deep spiritual insight, one who loved the Bible and delighted in making plain those passages which had particular relevance to Latter-day Saint doctrine. That he was one of the great biblical minds of his day is evident in his sermons, discourses frequently interspersed with biblical passages and built around the explanation of biblical texts. The King Follett Sermon, delivered in April 1844, reveals the Prophet at the zenith of his ministry and gives us a glimpse of the depth of his understanding. This funeral address includes prophetic commentary on such passages as Genesis 1 (the creation of man), John 17:3 (what it means to attain eternal life), John 5:26 (the Son to have the power of the Father), Isaiah 33:14 (rising to dwell in everlasting burnings), Matthew 12:32 (the unpardonable sin), and John 14:1–2 (the "many mansions" of the Father). We are left to ponder the likelihood that only a fraction of Joseph's knowledge was ever given to the Church, largely because the people were not able to bear what Wilford Woodruff termed the veritable "flood of intelligence which God poured into his mind." President Woodruff spoke of Joseph's mind as being "opened by the visions of the Almighty," and explained that "the Lord taught him many things by vision and revelation that were never taught publicly in his days." Much of what we have received from the Prophet, however, came as a result of his prayerful consideration of passages in the Bible.

JOSEPH SMITH'S TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

Robert J. Matthews has given us a clearer insight into the fact that Joseph Smith regarded his study and translation of the King James Bible

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as a "branch of his calling." Further, Matthews has shown that the lengthy process from translation through reworking to final publication of Joseph's work with the Bible was a key factor in the unfolding of Latter-day Saint history and doctrine:

Familiarity with the facts and the history of Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible shows that it was the means by which many important doctrines of the gospel were revealed to the Prophet. He was translating the Bible, not because he already knew the answers and doctrines, but because by the process and experience of the translation he would learn things important for him to know.  

In a similar vein, George Q. Cannon observed:

Joseph did not live to give to the world an authoritative publication of these translations. But the labor was its own reward, bringing in the performance a special blessing of broadened comprehension to the Prophet and a general blessing of enlightenment to the people through his subsequent teachings.  

The earliest date of biblical translation given in any of Joseph Smith's records is June 1830, when he commented on receiving "line upon line of knowledge—here a little and there a little," of which the following was a precious morsel." Joseph then recorded the visions of Moses. In December the Prophet recorded the call, preparation, and ministry of Enoch. He continued working on the Old Testament until 7 March 1831, when he received what became chapter 48 of the Book of Commandments (compare D&C 45), instructing him to translate the New Testament before proceeding any further with the Old Testament. The manuscript of Joseph's work with Matthew, chapter 1, is dated 8 March 1831. To that point, he had translated through Genesis 19:35. He and his scribe, Sidney Rigdon, worked on Matthew (1:1–9:2) and Genesis simultaneously until 5 April. From 7 April to 19 June, they concentrated their attention on Matthew (9:2–26:71a) and after a short break continued working into September, when the translation of the first Gospel was completed. In all, the Prophet changed 483 verses in Matthew, the most alterations he made in any book of the Bible except for Genesis (662) and Luke (563). The changes all seem to fall within the four categories suggested by Robert Matthews: (1) restoration of content once written by biblical authors but since deleted; (2) a record

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of historical events not recorded before, or recorded but not included within the biblical collection; (3) inspired prophetic commentary, in which Joseph Smith enlarged, elaborated, or adapted passages to a latter-day situation; and (4) harmonization of doctrinal concepts revealed to the Prophet independently of the translation, by which he was able to recognize biblical inaccuracies.\(^6\)

**FOCUS OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW**

Latter-day Saints affirm that the author of the first Gospel was Matthew (Levi) the publican, chosen by Jesus as one of the original Twelve Apostles. His would have been in close association with the Master, and thus his recollections of events and sayings of Christ are of inestimable worth. His task was to record his testimony and frame it into what we have come to call a "Gospel." Donald Senior has reminded us that the Gospels are not designed to be historical chronicles or a series of pages from a family album. Instead, they are a *testimony of faith* about the meaning of Jesus Christ for believers. This obviously does not negate the historical basis of the gospel story. Fundamental to Christian belief is the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth who lived and died is the same resurrected Jesus who is revealed to be the foundation of hope and life.\(^7\)

Like any other writer, inspired or uninspired, Matthew has a particular message and style and format which characterize his work, and he may appropriately be studied in light of some of his more evident literary characteristics. Matthew's Gospel is shaped by such factors as his own background, the audience to which his work is primarily addressed, and the needs of the Church at that day. Recognition of these factors, however, should not lead us to interpretive extremes. It has become popular in recent years, with the rise of Redaction Criticism, to overemphasize the redactional (editorial) role of the Gospel writers. Many critics have gone to great lengths to depict Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as not only molding but also manipulating the tradition and history concerning Jesus of Nazareth. Such a position is both unsubstantiated and unnecessary. It is better, in my view, to assume that Matthew was preparing a literary document that was at the same time firmly grounded in historical fact.

Though a number of contributions are exclusively Matthean, this study will focus on the impact of Joseph Smith's translation (JST) on

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\(^6\)Ibid., 253.

three major themes in the Gospel of Matthew: (1) Matthew as the Gospel of the Church, (2) Jesus' denunciation of Judaism, and (3) Jesus as the fulfillment of God's promise to Israel.

MATTHEW AS THE GOSPEL OF THE CHURCH

Matthew's is the only Gospel in the New Testament to use the term church (Greek ekklesia) in referring to the organized community of believers. The key reference occurs in the account of Jesus' discussion with his disciples at Caesarea Philippi. When Peter testifies of Christ's divine Sonship, the Master replies that this knowledge is of divine origin and then goes on to speak of the Church and its leadership. The significance of Matthew's treatment of this event can be grasped by simply viewing the synoptics in parallel:

Matt. 16:16–20:
16. And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.
17. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.
18. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.
19. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.
20. Then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ.

Mark 8:29–30:
29. . . . And Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ. 30. And he charged them that they should tell no man of him.

Luke 9:20–21:
21. And he straitly charged them, and commanded them to tell no man that thing . . . .

The keys or right of presidency by which the Church of Jesus Christ was to be established, the means by which ordinances were to be performed, and the authorization to make converts and seal them into a family order were all received by the chief Apostles from Jesus and heavenly ministrants. It appears that on the Mount of Transfiguration Moses and Elijah restored the keys of the gathering of Israel, as well as the sacred sealing power (Matt. 17:1–8; compare D&C 110). Matthew, chapter 18, contains further instructions for the regulation of the
Joseph Smith and the Gospel of Matthew

Church: the need for conversion (verses 1–5), the importance of removing harmful elements from the members' lives and thus from the Church (verses 7–9), member activation (verses 12–14), the resolving of differences between individual Saints (verses 15–17), and the need for genuine forgiveness (verses 21–35). The instructions regarding the resolution of differences between members (compare similar instructions in D&C 42:84–92) conclude with this matter of policy: "And if he [the accused] shall neglect to hear them [persons to assist or serve as witnesses], tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican" (Matt. 18:17; emphasis added).

There seemed to be no doubt in the mind of the Prophet Joseph Smith that Jesus had come to earth to do more than articulate ethical principles or even to reveal strong doctrine; the Master came as a legal administrator and reestablished the kingdom of God—the Church of Jesus Christ.8 This church (through the holy priesthood) administered the gospel and through the establishment of standards and commandments sought to structure the lives of the Saints in strait and narrow ways. The need for commandments within the community of Christians is an important insight and contribution of the Joseph Smith translation. Note the concluding verse of Matthew, chapter 5, in the Sermon on the Mount, as given in the JST: "Ye are therefore commanded to be perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." Note also the following bit of counsel to the disciples during the same sermon:

Matt. 6:26, KJV:
26. Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?

Matt. 6:29–30, JST:
29. Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? How much more will be not feed you?
30. Wherefore take no thought for these things, but keep my commandments wherewith I have commanded you.

(Emphasis added.)

The occasion of the healing of the two blind men provides another opportunity for us to see the emergence of this theme in the Joseph Smith translation:

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8See History of the Church, 5:258–59.
Matt. 9:29–30, KJV:
29. Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you.
30. And their eyes were opened; and Jesus straitly charged them, saying, See that no man know it.

Matt. 9:35–36, JST:
35. Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith, be it unto you.
36. And their eyes were opened; and straitly he charged them, saying, *Keep my commandments, and see ye tell no man in this place, that no man know it.*

(Emphasis added.)

It was not enough for the healed men to keep the miracle a secret; they had to *keep the commandments* to be a part of the community of believers.

Jesus enunciates the cost of discipleship in an important discourse to his followers, just after Peter's confession. The Lord here defines what it means for one to “take up his cross”:

Matt. 16:24–26, KJV:
24. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.
25. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.
26. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

Matt. 16:25–29, JST:
25. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.
26. And now for a man to take up his cross, is to deny himself all ungodliness, and every worldly lust, and keep my commandments.
27. Break not my commandments for to save your lives; for whosoever will save his life in this world, shall lose it in the world to come.
28. And whosoever will lose his life in this world, for my sake, shall find it in the world to come.
29. Therefore, forsake the world, and save your souls; for what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? . . .

(Emphasis added.)

Keeping the commandments established by the Lord through the Church is also accomplished through submitting to the priesthood ordinances. The ordinances of salvation are channels by which the “power of godliness” is manifest unto men in the flesh (D&C 84:20–21). It is not enough for an individual to come to Christ through His teachings or example alone; one is expected to “subscribe
the articles of adoption” to be fully born again into the Church and kingdom of God. Note how the Savior begins the Sermon on the Mount in the Joseph Smith translation:

Matt. 5:1–2, KJV:
1. And seeing the multitudes, he went up unto a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him:
2. And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,

Matt. 5:1–4, JST:
1. And Jesus, seeing the multitudes went up into a mountain; and when he was set down, his disciples came unto him:
2. And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,
3. Blessed are they who shall believe on me; and again, more blessed are they who shall believe on your words, when ye shall testify that ye have seen me and that I am.
4. Yea, blessed are they who shall believe on your words, and come down into the depth of humility, and be baptized in my name; for they shall be visited with fire and the Holy Ghost, and shall receive a remission of their sins.

(Emphasis added.)

This counsel to come unto Christ through ordinances as well as attitude is repeated by the Lord to his Nephite disciples after his resurrection (3 Ne. 12:1–2).

Tied with this principle is the doctrine of accountability, that “all men must repent and be baptized, and not only men, but women, and children who have arrived at the years of accountability” (D&C 18:42). The Joseph Smith translation makes it plain that Jesus considered little children to be spiritually whole from the foundation of the world and thus not in need of baptism or confirmation:

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9Ibid., 6:58.
Matt. 18:10–11, KJV:
10. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.
11. For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost.

Matt. 18:10–11, JST:
10. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven.
11. For the Son of Man is come to save that which was lost, and to call sinners to repentance; but these little ones have no need of repentance, and I will save them.

(Emphasis added.)

These words are consistent with the counsel in the Book of Mormon (Mosiah 3:16; Moro. 8), the revelations of the Doctrine and Covenants (D&C 20:71; 29:46; 68:25-27), and also principles Joseph had learned about accountability while translating Genesis (Gen. 17:11, JST).

The Joseph Smith translation of Matthew makes it clear that those called to preach the gospel were expected to be far more than spiritual Paul Reveres, rushing through the streets screaming, "The kingdom is coming, the kingdom is coming!" Preparation for the Christ and his kingdom includes receiving his representatives and then submitting to the first principles. Further evidence of this is to be found in the verse added to the passage in the Sermon on the Mount in which the Lord is giving his disciples their charge: "Go ye into the world, saying unto all, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has come nigh unto you" (Matt. 7:9, JST; emphasis added).

Finally, the Joseph Smith translation makes it clear that the Church exists not only to administer the gospel through the ordinances but also to see to it that those within the Church live lives consistent with the high standards set by Christ. This is apparent in chapter 18:

Matt. 18:9, KJV:
9. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

Matt. 18:8–9, JST:
8. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee; it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.
9. And a man's hand is his friend, and his foot, also; and a man's eye, are they of his own household.

(Emphasis added.)
These changes in Matthew mirror those in the Joseph Smith translation of Mark, which are even more dramatic:

Mark 9:40–44, JST:
40. Therefore, if thy hand offend thee, cut it off; or if thy brother offend thee and confess not and forsake not, he shall be cut off. . . .
42. And again, if thy foot offend thee, cut it off; for he that is thy standard, by whom thou walkest, if he become a transgressor, he shall be cut off. . . .
44. Therefore, let every man stand or fall, by himself, and not for another. . . .

The Prophet’s changes define what it means to pluck out an eye or cut off a hand: excommunication or severance from the body of Christ was occasionally necessary to maintain the purity of the Church.

JESUS’ DENUNCIATION OF JUDAISM

Judaism as it existed from the time of Lehi to the days of Christ was described in a masterful way by a Book of Mormon prophet. “The Jews,” wrote Jacob, “were a stiffnecked people; and they despised the words of plainness, and killed the prophets, and sought for things that they could not understand” (Jacob 4:14). The tendency of Jewish leaders to engage in the esoteric and to joy in the mysterious was perhaps not unrelated to their omission of what the Lord called the “weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith” (Matt. 23:23). They had perverted the law of Moses through confusing tokens with covenants, ritual with religion, means with ends. Jesus came as the pure fulfillment of the Law and sought to heal the spiritual blindness which had come from “looking beyond the mark” (Jacob 4:14). In the words of one student of the New Testament, Christ “demanded a righteousness that exceeded the standard of Jewish legalism, for it was inward not outward; spontaneous, not legalistic; gauged by a person, and not by a code.”10 Jesus was a Jew, and he certainly knew and taught that the Jews were the children of promise. “But,” as one Roman Catholic scholar has pointed out, “this awareness of Israel’s special status as the chosen people is coupled with an uncompromising critique that scores Israel’s rejection of Jesus and its consequent loss of the promise.”11

In the eighth chapter of Matthew is found the story of the healing of a centurion's son. Here was a Gentile who demonstrated a faith greater than any manifest among the children of Israel at the time of the Master. Jesus closes this episode by stating that "many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Matt. 8:11–12; emphasis added; compare the account in Luke 7:1–10 and note the different context). In the scathing parable of the wicked husbandman, Matthew departs from the other synoptic Gospels in his addition of one verse which makes explicit the point of the parable: "Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof" (Matt. 21:43; emphasis added; compare Mark 12:1–12; Luke 20:9–18).

Chapter 23 of Matthew is one entire sermon denouncing the ostentation and pretense of the Pharisees and scribes. More than in any other place in the New Testament record, the Savior here unleashes his righteous indignation upon a works-righteous assembly of Jewish leaders possessed of a perverted piety, calling them hypocrites (seven times), fools, blind guides, whitened sepulchres, serpents, and a generation of vipers.

The Joseph Smith translation is even more clear that Jesus challenged the Jewish intellectuals of his day with a call to a higher righteousness. In addition, he questioned their authority, their right to teach and guide the masses in accordance with their narrow interpretation of the Law. The Jewish leaders were deeply schooled in the commentaries of the Law but lacked the animation that comes with the Spirit of God. Consequently they misinterpreted the "signs of the times" and failed to recognize him by whom the Law had been given anciently. Their preaching, therefore, was empty, their impact on the soul fleeting. Jesus was different. He "taught them as one having authority from God, and not as having authority from the Scribes" (Matt. 7:37, JST; emphasis added).
Some of the most important alterations made by the Prophet are in the Sermon on the Mount. The section on judging righteously, in chapter 7, is followed by a denunciation of the scribes, Pharisees, priests, and Levites:

Matt. 7:4-5, KJV:
4. Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?
5. Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Matt. 7:5-8, JST:
5. Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and canst not behold a beam in thine own eye?
6. And Jesus said unto his disciples, Beboldest thou the Scribes, and the Pharisees, and the Priests, and the Levites? They teach in their synagogues, but do not observe the law, nor the commandments; and all have gone out of the way, and are under sin.
7. Go thou and say unto them, Why teach ye men the law and the commandments, when ye yourselves are the children of corruption?
8. Say unto them, Ye hypocrites, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

(Emphasis added.)
Here we learn that the experts in the Law were also the greatest offenders of the Law. Joseph Smith made a similar insertion later in the same chapter:

Matt. 7:7-9, KJV:
7. Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:
8. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.
9. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?

Matt. 7:12-18, JST:
12. Say unto them, Ask of God; ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.
13. For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and unto him that knocketh, it shall be opened.
14. And then said his disciples unto him, they will say unto us, We ourselves are righteous, and need not that any man should teach us. God, we know, heard Moses and some of the prophets; but us be will not hear.
15. And they will say, We have the law for our salvation, and that is sufficient for us.
16. Then Jesus answered, and said unto his disciples, thus shall ye say unto them,
17. What man among you, having a son, and shall be standing out, and shall say, Father, open thy house that I may come in and sup with thee, will not say, Come in, my son; for mine is thine, and thine is mine?
18. Or what man is there among you, who, if his son ask bread, will give him a stone?

(Emphasis added.)

This is an unusual passage. The disciples seem hesitant to approach a people who are content with their lives centered in and bound to the Law. But the disciples have a message to deliver, a message of spiritual import, to be understood and received only by the Spirit through prayer. Jesus thus explains to the disciples (as modern missionaries would be taught today) that investigators must ask of God to know the truthfulness of the divine message. Evidently the Jews of the first century had fallen into a pathetic state of blindness (compare
Jacob 4:14) perfectly characterized by the attitude: “God, we know, heard Moses and some of the prophets; but we will not hear.” Jesus had to instruct his devoted followers to remember that the Eternal Father is infinitely more willing to give and to speak than the greatest mortal. Interestingly enough, the JST also provides a smoother transition between verses six (“Give not that which is holy unto the dogs”) and seven (“Ask, and it shall be given you”) than we find in the KJV.

Jesus not only condemned the Pharisees and scribes for their myopic mindset, but he also demanded with the introduction of the New and Everlasting Covenant of the gospel that all persons enter into the true Church through an authorized baptism:

Matt. 9:15–16, KJV:
15. And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.
16. No man putteth a piece of new cloth upon an old garment; for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse.

Matt. 9:16–22, JST:
16. And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them?
17. But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.
18. Then said the Pharisees unto him, Why will ye not receive us with our baptism, seeing we keep the whole law?
19. But Jesus said unto them, Ye keep not the law. If ye had kept the law, ye would have received me, for I am he who gave the law.
20. I receive not you with your baptism, because it profiteth you nothing.
21. For when that which is new is come, the old is ready to be put away.
22. For no man putteth a piece of new cloth on an old garment; for that which is put in to fill it up, taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse.

(Emphasis added.)

The Joseph Smith translation provides a fascinating background for the Savior’s otherwise abstruse words concerning cloth and bottles. A similar resistance was encountered by Joseph Smith at the time of the organization of the latter-day Church. The Lord’s message was as timely in A.D. 30 as in 1830:
Wherefore, although a man should be baptized an hundred times it availeth him nothing, for you cannot enter in at the strait gate by the law of Moses, neither by your dead works. For it is because of your dead works that I have caused this last covenant and this church to be built up unto me, even as in days of old. Wherefore, enter ye in at the gate, as I have commanded, and seek not to counsel your God. (D&C 22:2–4; emphasis added.)

JESUS AS THE FULFILLMENT OF GOD'S PROMISE TO ISRAEL

The Gospel of Matthew was written by a man intent on building a bridge between the old covenant and the new, or between what we call the two Testaments. Like the Book of Mormon prophet Jacob, he testified that "none of the prophets have written, nor prophesied, save they have spoken concerning this Christ" (Jacob 7:11). Merrill C. Tenney in his discussion of Matthew points out how the book is developed in such a way as to demonstrate that the person of Jesus of Nazareth is the total and complete fulfillment of the Law and the Prophets:

The Gospel of Matthew was written to show how Jesus of Nazareth enlarged and explained the revelation which had been begun in the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. Although it is strongly Jewish in its character, it was written also for the benefit of Gentiles, since the final commission enjoined the Twelve to make disciples "of all the nations" (28:19). If it were originally composed for the benefit of the church at Antioch, where Gentile converts first came together in large numbers, the reason for its character would be plain. Matthew was seeking to show to these converts the meaning of Jesus' ministry in terms of the Old Testament which their Jewish colleagues believed, and from which they themselves had been taught.12

One of the most important Matthean stylistic peculiarities is the use of what are called "formula citations" of scripture, such as "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying..."; or "for thus it is written by the prophet..."; or "then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet...". Matthew uses this method of relating the Old and New Testaments as many as fourteen times in his Gospel, eight of which are citations of the prophet Isaiah. Although there was continual reference during the years of early Christianity to Jesus as the fulfillment of prophecies, no other Gospel writer applies this device as insistently as

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does Matthew. John uses nine formulas, but five of them speak in very broad terms concerning “the fulfillment of scripture.”

Matthew no doubt used these formulas to attract the attention of Jews who still awaited a Messiah. He sought to declare with boldness that the Messiah had come and that they should “believe the gospel, and look not for a Messiah to come who has already come” (D&C 19:27). For the most part, however, as Raymond E. Brown maintains, the formula citations had a “didactic purpose, informing the Christian readers and giving support to their faith. Some of the citations are attached to the minutiae of Jesus’ career, as if to emphasize that the whole of Jesus’ life, down to the least detail, lay within God’s foreordained plan.”

As with the other themes we have been examining, the Joseph Smith translation gives additional emphasis to this one as well. According to the JST, Jesus spoke clearly and directly to Simon and Andrew when he called them to their ministry: “I am he of whom it is written by the prophets; follow me, and I will make you fishers of men” (Matt. 4:18, JST; emphasis added; compare Matt. 11:3, JST). Here is an explicit witness of the fact that the Christ of whom the prophets had written was now among the people.

In the narrative of Jesus’ infancy, the JST attests to the place of Jesus as the Messiah, as well as the King. The wise men have come from the East seeking to behold the great theophany at hand. They ask, “Where is the child that is born the Messiah of the Jews?” (Matt. 3:2, JST; emphasis added). The Messiah (literally the “anointed one”) in many Old Testament passages is the King (as in the KJV), the descendant of David who will reign everlastingly (see 2 Sam. 7:12–13).

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14Ibid., 98.
A similar clarification occurs in the account of Herod’s inquiries into the rumored birth:

Matt. 2:4–6, KJV:
4. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born.
5. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the prophet,
6. And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

Matt. 3:4–6, JST:
4. And when he had gathered all the chief priests, and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them, saying, Where is the place that is written of by the prophets, in which Christ should be born? For he greatly feared, yet he believed not the prophets.
5. And they said unto him, It is written by the prophets, that he should be born in Bethlehem of Judea, for thus they have said,
6. The word of the Lord came unto us, saying, And thou, Bethlehem, which liest in the land of Judea, in thee shall be born a prince, which art not the least among the princes of Judaea; for out of thee shall come the Messiah, who shall save my people Israel.

(Emphasis added.)

In commenting on the above alteration, Robert J. Matthews writes:

As presented in the JST, it is not Bethlehem, but Jesus who is the prince; and he is not simply a Governor come to rule, but the Messiah come to save Israel. Surely it was Jesus (and not Bethlehem) who was the prince, for he (and not the whole village) was to inherit the throne of David and rule Israel “with judgment and with justice . . . for ever,” as recorded in Isaiah 9:6–7.15

In a passage that does not occur in the KJV, the Joseph Smith translation also gives us a remarkable insight into the childhood and early training of Christ:

22. But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea, in the stead of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither; but, notwithstanding, being warned of God in a vision, he went into the eastern part of Galilee;
23. And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.
24. And it came to pass that Jesus grew up with his brethren, and waxed strong, and waited upon the Lord for the time of his ministry to come.

25. And be served under bis father, and be spake not as other men, neither could be be taught; for be needed not that any man should teach him.
26. And after many years, the bower of bis ministry drew nigh.
27. And in those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea. . . .

(Emphasis added.)

These verses not only supply an excellent transition between Christ’s infancy and the beginning of John’s ministry (note the lack of transition in the KJV from Matt. 2:23 to 3:1), but they also point up the fact that the Lord received instructions from the heavens as well as from mortal teachers. This suggests one of the reasons Jesus, at age twelve, was spiritually adept and insightful enough to be found in the temple teaching the doctors of the Law (see Luke 2:46–47, JST).

At the close of chapter 23, the JST adds a brief section which further attests to Jesus’ divine Sonship:

Matt. 23:37–39, KJV:
37. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!
38. Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.
39. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Matt. 23:37–41, JST:
37. O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! Ye who will kill the prophets, and will stone them who are sent unto you; how often would I have gathered your children together, even as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.
38. Behold, your house is left unto you desolate!
39. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth, and know that I am of whom it is written by the prophets, until ye shall say,
40. Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord, in the clouds of heaven, and all the holy angels with him.
41. Then understood his disciples that he should come again on the earth, after that he was glorified and crowned on the right band of God.

(Emphasis added.)

Finally, it is only fitting that the Christ should bear witness of himself before his enemies, as the Gospel draws to a close. As Jesus stood before Pilate, the governor asked him a direct question: “Art thou the King of the Jews?” The Master answered directly: “Thou sayest truly; for thus it is written of me” (Matt. 27:11–12, JST). What more
could be said? Both by deed and by word, the testimony of Jesus of Nazareth had been borne: the light had shone in the darkness, and the darkness had comprehended it not.

CONCLUSION

Joseph Smith was called of God as a translator, as well as a prophet, seer, and revelator (D&C 21:1; 107:92; 124:125). His divine appointment gave him the right not only to declare new scripture but also the “key of knowledge,” the access to the “fulness of the scriptures” (Luke 11:53, JST). Joseph the Seer had power to interpret ancient scripture by the same Spirit that had moved upon the prophets and Apostles of earlier dispensations. It is often difficult for us to know when a particular alteration in the King James Version represents a restoration of lost textual material or events or when it represents inspired prophetic commentary. We should be grateful, nevertheless, that Joseph the Translator sought to restore “plain and precious things,” whether that be content, intent, or meaning. The Lord himself placed the Prophet’s work with the Bible in perspective in a modern revelation given in 1830 to Sidney Rigdon: “And a commandment I give unto thee—that thou shalt write for him; and the scriptures shall be given, even as they are in mine own bosom, to the salvation of mine own elect” (D&C 35:20; emphasis added).

16For a broader treatment of the JST’s accentuation of the areas of stress in all three of the synoptic Gospels, see Robert L. Millet, “The JST and the Synoptic Gospels: Literary Style,” in Nyman and Millet, The Joseph Smith Translation, 147-62.
“Saved or Damned”:
Tracing a Persistent Protestantism in Early Mormon Thought

Grant Underwood

In the July 1838 issue of the *Elders' Journal*, Joseph Smith responded to a series of questions which he said were “daily and hourly asked by all classes of people.” To the question “Will every body be damned but Mormons?” he replied, “Yes, and a great portion of them, unless they repent and work righteousness.”¹ For years, I have assumed, along with others, that Joseph’s response was rather tongue-in-cheek. Actually, as we shall see, he was very much in earnest and was simply reflecting a sentiment widely held among the early Saints. Benjamin Winchester, for example, reasoned that as “Mormonism” was the restoration of the New Testament Christianity “all who reject this will be damned, if the scriptures are true.”² Such categorical statements were indeed rooted in the scriptures, particularly passages like Mark 16:16: “He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.”³ One finds this verse frequently and unequivocally invoked in the early literature. In an article entitled “Gospel I,” Sidney Rigdon wrote:

And unless God had sent the apostles, or others authorized as they were, the world must have perished: every creature in it must have been damned: for they were to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature, he (that is, every creature) that believed and was baptized, should be saved; but he (that is, every creature) that believed not, should be damned. Had there been one creature in all the world who was in a state of salvation, or could have attained that state without the apostles, this commission would not have been correct, that is, that every creature in all

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¹ *Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints* 1 (July 1838): 42.
² *Times and Seasons* 1 (November 1839): 10.
³ Similarly worded declarations are found in three revelations received during the 1830s. Throughout this article the following abbreviations will be used: D&C for Doctrine and Covenants (current edition); BC for the Book of Commandments; and D&C (1835) for the Doctrine and Covenants (1835 edition). This is also the order in which they will appear in the notes. If the revelatory text was published in an early Church periodical, it will be noted at the end. Those passages similar to Mark 16:16 are (1) D&C 68:9; D&C (1835):148; *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (October 1832): 35; (2) D&C 84:74; D&C (1835):92; and (3) D&C 112:29.
the world who did not believe them and be baptized by their direction should be damned.4

But what of the honest and honorable of other churches? A Times and Seasons editorial answered bluntly that it did not matter “how often a man prayed, how much alms he gave, how often he fasted, or how punctual he was in paying his tithes, if he believed not, he would be damned.”5 Such “either/or” thinking did not belong to some fanatic fringe; it permeated the membership from the Prophet on down. In a Nauvoo address Joseph referred to “the various professors of religion who do not believe in revelation & the oracles of God” and said, “I tell you in the name of Jesus Christ they will be damned & when you get into the eternal world you will find it to be so they cannot escape the damnation of hell.”6 A week later, he singled out the Presbyterians as an example and declared, “If they reject our voice they shall be damned.”7

That the Saints did not balk at laying out the consequences of rejecting the message of the restored gospel is also evident from the frequency with which anti-Mormons and other observers commented on this very point, an emphasis they found suffocatingly exclusivistic. La Roy Sunderland, an active abolitionist minister who wrote one of the more widely circulated anti-Mormon pamphlets of the 1830s, decried Mormonism’s “monstrous cruelty” in “pretending to send all to hell who do not believe it.”8 In Truth Vindicated, Parley P. Pratt replied:

Every dispensation that God ever sent, is equally cruel in this respect; for God sends all to hell who reject any thing that he sends to save those that believe. And I add, if Methodism be true, God will send every man to hell who rejects it. And a man must be very inconsistent, to come with a message from God, and then, tell the people that they can be saved just as well without, as with it.9

4Evening and Morning Star 2 (September 1834): 187. Emphasis in original. This article was later reprinted in the Times and Seasons (see Times and Seasons 2 [November 1840]: 197). Other examples in the early literature of how this verse was used include Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate 1 (June 1835): 131, 135; 1 (July 1835): 151; 2 (March 1836): 283–84. Of the sixty most frequently cited scriptural passages in LDS periodical literature between 1832 and 1838, only two were quoted more often than Mark 16:16 (see Gordon Irving, “The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830s,” Brigham Young University Studies 15 [Summer 1973]: 481).
5Times and Seasons 4 (February 1943): 106.
6This excerpt from the Wilford Woodruff Journal is reproduced in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 156.
7Ehat and Cook, eds., Words of Joseph Smith, 162.
9Ibid.
For modern Latter-day Saints accustomed to extolling the vision of the three degrees of glory as the antidote to the confining polarities of Protestant conceptions of the afterlife, the idea that early Mormons spoke almost entirely in terms of either being saved in the celestial kingdom or else being damned, rather than discussing terrestrial or telestial salvation, seems foreign indeed. Yet it is the purpose of this article to trace within Mormon thought the persisting lineaments of traditional salvationist rhetoric and to demonstrate that the vision of the three degrees of glory did not begin to alter such notions until the end of the Nauvoo period.

We begin with a word about background. After surveying the religious landscape in America in 1844, the eminent German churchman Philip Schaff remarked that “the reigning theology of the country . . . is the theology of the Westminster Confession.” The Westminster Confession, a creedal delineation of faith formulated two hundred years earlier by Reformed divines from both England and Scotland, had announced that, upon death, the souls of the “righteous” are received in heaven while the “wicked” are cast into hell. “Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies,”

10The terms salvation and damnation and their cognates present semantic problems which should be addressed briefly at the outset. “Just as there are varying degrees and kinds of salvation,” writes Bruce R. McConkie, “so there are degrees and kinds of damnation.” He distinguishes four usages of the term damnation: 1. Those who are thrust down to hell to await the day of the resurrection of damnation; 2. Those who fail to gain an inheritance in the celestial kingdom or kingdom of God; 3. Those who become sons of perdition; and 4. Those who fail to gain exaltation in the highest heaven within the celestial world, even though they do gain a celestial mansion in one of the lower heavens of that world” (Bruce R. McConkie, Mormon Doctrine, 2d ed. [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966], 176–77).

In other words, damnation can be said to occur to anyone not exalted to the highest level of the celestial kingdom (sense 4), or to anyone not inheriting either the celestial kingdom at all (sense 2), or to anyone not inheriting either the celestial or terrestrial kingdoms (sense 1), or to anyone not inheriting either the terrestrial, or telestial kingdoms (sense 3). The range of Interpretations is thus sufficiently broad that aside from “exalted” beings and “sons of perdition,” it is possible to conclude that all the rest of humanity will in a sense be both “saved” and “damned.” For reasons made clear in the remainder of this paper, such semantic options were not articulated in the years under study (1830–46).

Admittedly, in the strictest sense, “official” LDS doctrine is very limited in nature. That Bruce R. McConkie’s ideas, however, epitomize currently acceptable doctrine is clearly revealed in the following: The Church Educational System recently completed preparation of college-level student manuals for each of the four standard works. These volumes (five in all) are organized like scriptural commentaries and contain numerous explanatory quotations. They are read and approved by the Church Correlation Committee and published under the name of the Church itself. Thus, they come as close as any literature to receiving the Church’s doctrinal imprimatur. A total of 5,850 quotations from over two hundred different authors appear in these five manuals. The single most frequently cited author is Bruce R. McConkie: 543 quotations, or one in seven, are attributed to him. The next most frequently quoted is Joseph Fielding Smith with 447, followed by Joseph Smith with 345, and Spencer W. Kimball with 227. Elder McConkie’s primacy is obviously due in part to the sheer volume of his writing. However, since other prolific Mormon authors, even among the General Authorities, are not cited with anywhere near the same frequency, it is clear that Elder McConkie is looked to today as the leading doctrinal exponent in the Church. At the very least, it seems safe to cite his works as representative of currently acceptable doctrinal positions.

concluded the Confession, "the Scripture acknowledgeth none." The final chapter of the Confession dealt with the Last Judgment and explained:

The end of God's appointing this day, is for the manifestation of the glory of his mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect; and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient. For then shall the righteous go into everlasting life, and receive that fulness of joy and refreshing which shall come from the presence of the Lord: but the wicked, who know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into eternal torments, and be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.

For centuries, the polarities of heaven and hell, election and reprobation, had informed the contours of Protestant thought. Thus, in the world into which Mormonism was born, it was customary to conceptualize man as either saint or sinner, righteous or wicked, bound for heaven or headed for hell; and this formed an important part of the cultural baggage early converts carried with them into the Church.

Significantly, such sharply contrasting categories were not explicitly contradicted either in the Book of Mormon or in the new revelations. One early revelation described the Last Judgment in these familiar terms: "And the righteous shall be gathered on my right hand unto eternal life; and the wicked on my left hand. . . . I will say unto them—Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." On another occasion the Lord spoke of the gathering "that the wheat may be secured in the garnerers to possess eternal life, and be crowned with celestial glory . . . while the tares shall be bound in bundles . . . that they may be burned with unquenchable fire." To portray Judgment Day outcomes only as either "celestial glory" or "unquenchable fire," "eternal life" or "everlasting fire" without mentioning the intermediate glories seems

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12Philip Schaff, ed., *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1877; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1966), 3:671. This is in sharp contrast to the Roman Catholic ideas of Purgatory and Limbo. Purgatory is defined as "the state, place, or condition in the next world, which will continue until the last judgment, where the souls of those who die in the state of grace, but not yet free from all imperfection, make expiation for unforgiven venial sins or for the temporal punishment due to venial and mortal sins that have already been forgiven and, by so doing, are purified before they enter heaven" (*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed., s.v. "Purgatory"). Limbo is "the state and place either of those souls who did not merit hell and its eternal punishments but could not enter heaven before the Redemption (the fathers' Limbo) or of those souls who are eternally excluded from the beatific vision because of original sin alone (the children's Limbo)" (*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed., s.v. "Limbo").

13Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 672.

14Some of the more obvious examples from the Book of Mormon of a polarized afterlife are 1 Ne. 15:29–36; 2 Ne. 9:11–19; and Alma 40:11–26.

15D&C 29:27–28; BC:64; D&C (1835):114; Evening and Morning Star 1 (September 1832): [26].

incomplete from a modern perspective. Yet, with the exception of the Vision, a subject to which we will later return, the revelations of the Restoration perpetuated such traditional polarizations.

In fact, they seemed to strengthen the dichotomies by crystalizing into a single criterion the distinction between the two groups. That criterion was an individual's response to the Mormon message. "Mine elect," declared the Lord, "hear my voice and harden not their hearts." By divine definition, the "elect" were only those who accepted the restored gospel. The same criterion was extended to the definition of "goodness." "And there are none that doeth good except those who are ready to receive the fulness of my gospel, which I have sent forth unto this generation." Conversely, the Lord defined the "wicked" just as succinctly. They were simply those "that will not hear my voice but harden their hearts." Even the casual observer will note that this is phrased as the exact negation of what constituted election. As if it were not already clear enough, a year later the Lord taught his Saints how to distinguish the two types of people: "Whoso cometh not unto me is under the bondage of sin. . . . And by this you may know the righteous from the wicked." When talking theology, then, the Saints used the word *wicked* as a sort of generic term for all unbelievers whether or not they were morally bankrupt. Parley P. Pratt, for instance, defined "the wicked" as "that portion of the people who were not of the Kingdom of God." On the other hand, believers were collectively described as "the righteous." A *Times and Seasons* article explained that when a man "is adopted into the church and kingdom of God, as one of his Saints; his name is then enrolled in the book of the names of the righteous." In terms of these polarities, what was true for the one was also true for the many. Whole churches of non-Mormons were designated in various revelations as "the congregations of the wicked." "Babylon, literally understood," wrote John Taylor, "is . . . the

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17In the current lexicon of Mormon theology, eternal life "is the kind, status, type, and quality of life that God himself enjoys. Thus, those who gain eternal life receive exaltation" (McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 237). On the other hand, those whose destiny "is to be cast out with the devil and his angels, to inherit the same kingdom in a state where 'their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched'" are defined as "sons of perdition" (McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 746). Thus, to apply these definitions to the quoted passages would seem to present only a partial picture of the results of Judgment Day.

18D&C 29:7; BC 61; D&C (1835):113; *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (September 1832): 26.

19D&C 35:12; BC 76; D&C (1835):117.

20D&C 38:6; BC 80, 81; D&C (1835):118; *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (January 1833): 61.


23*Times and Seasons* 4 (March 1843): 141.

Roman Catholics, Protestants, and all that have not had the keys of the kingdom."\(^{25}\) Entire cities were also classified collectively. After their initial failure in London, early missionaries wrote home that though it was "the boast of the Gentiles" London contained "one million five hundred thousands souls who are ripening in iniquity and preparing for the wrath of God; and like the ox going to the slaughter, know not the day of their visitation."\(^{26}\) Yet, as Parley P. Pratt later explained:

The people of England may repent, and never be destroyed; but if they do not repent, they will perish, in common with all nations who are unprepared for the second advent of the Messiah: For lo! the time is near—very near, when every one who does not give heed to Jesus Christ "will be destroyed from among the people." This applies equally to England, and all other places.\(^{27}\)

Thus, this was not just Yankee arrogance, for the American cities of Boston, Albany and Cincinnati were also promised "desolation and utter abolition" if they rejected the gospel.\(^{28}\) Even close friends were not exempt. Edward Partridge once penned this earnest entreaty to all his former acquaintances: "O take the advice of one that wishes you well . . . humble yourselves before God and embrace the everlasting gospel before the judgments of God sweep you from the face of the earth."\(^{29}\)

Here we pause to notice a subtlety of early Mormon thought. Given its markedly millenarian character, it tended to move ahead the traditional saved–damned reckoning of Judgment Day to a saved–destroyed outcome apparent at Christ’s coming. "In the day of the coming of the Son of Man," declared an early revelation, "cometh an entire separation of the righteous and the wicked; and in that day will I send mine angels to pluck out the wicked and cast them into unquenchable fire."\(^{30}\) The first Mormons spoke often of the Second Advent as a day of judgment or vengeance, demonstrating their focus on the attendant destruction of the unbelievers as much as on the salvation of the Saints.\(^{31}\) And there was no middle ground. Only Mormons would survive the second coming of Christ. According to Sidney Rigdon, all people on the earth during this period would be Saints: "all the rest of the world will without exception be cut off."\(^{32}\)

\(^{25}\) *Times and Seasons* 6 (June 1845): 939.
\(^{26}\) ibid. 2 (December 1840): 250.
\(^{27}\) Pratt, *An Answer*, 41.
\(^{28}\) *D&C* 84:114; 61:30–31; BC:148; *D&C* (1835):95, 201; *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (December 1832): [53].
\(^{29}\) *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (January 1835): 61.
\(^{30}\) *D&C* 63:53–54; BC:155; *D&C* (1835):144; *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (February 1833): [71].
\(^{31}\) See, for example, *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (February 1833): [67]; 1 (January 1833): [60].
\(^{32}\) *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (November 1836): 403.
When in 1841 Joseph first advanced the idea that there would be "wicked" men on the earth during the Millennium, it represented an abrupt about-face from a decade's consensus to the contrary, and it would be at least another decade before the idea really caught hold even among Church leaders.\(^3\) To introduce the color gray to those so accustomed to black and white was not easy. Because of their apocalyptic orientation, then, early Saints spoke more often of a "temporal" judgment to be effected at Christ's coming than they did of the far-off Final Judgment.\(^4\)

Such an apocalyptic scenario infused the saved–damned dichotomy with an imminence and a tangibility that provided both motivation and rationale for missionary outreach. Orson Hyde, in what is recognized as the earliest LDS missionary tract, urged: "Pray, therefore, that God may send unto you some servant of his, who is authorized from on high, to administer to you the ordinances of the gospel. Except you do this, you . . . must fall victims to the messengers of destruction, which God will soon send upon the earth."\(^5\) And in the dedicatory prayer for the Kirtland Temple, Joseph Smith petitioned the Lord thus:

> And whatsoever city thy servants shall enter, and the people of that city receive not the testimony of thy servants . . . let it be upon that city according to that which thou hast spoken . . . terrible things concerning the wicked, in the last days—that thou wilt pour out thy judgments without measure.\(^6\)

If in the early years the phrase "voice of warning" carried very literal connotations, it must be balanced with an acknowledgment that the elders were occasionally counseled to avoid overzealousness in declaring judgments against the wicked.\(^7\) As W. W. Phelps advised:

> Warn in compassion without threatening the wicked with judgments which are to be poured upon the world hereafter. You have no right . . . to collect the calamities of six thousand years, and paint them upon the

\(^3\)The first time on record of Joseph's having taught that "wicked" men would be upon the earth during the Millennium is in a 16 March 1841 sermon (see Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 65). As late as 1857, Orson Hyde was still talking of all the wicked being consumed at the Second Coming (see *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. [London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86], 5:355-356). On the other hand, Brigham Young clearly felt that there would be "wicked" men—unbelievers—on the earth during the Millennium (see *Journal of Discourses*, 2:316, 7:142).


\(^5\)Messenger and Advocate 2 (July 1836): 346. The tract was published separately as a broadside entitled *A Prophetic Warning* (Toronto, August 1836).


\(^7\)The relationship between millenarianism and missionary work during the early years is explored at greater length in my article, "Millenarianism and the Early Mormon Mind," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 41-51.
curtain of these last days to scare mankind to repentance; no; you are to
preach the gospel... even glad tidings of great joy unto all people.38

In the same dedicatory prayer, it was remarked, “O Lord, we
delight not in the destruction of our fellow men; their souls are
precious before thee; but thy word must be fulfilled.”39

It is not surprising that people weaned on the Bible and steeped
in its literal interpretation would feel there were simply too many graphic
passages predicting “wo” upon unbelievers to have the notion
“spiritualized” or “explained away.” Time and again in early Mormon
periodicals and pamphlets one encounters references to Moses’ pro-
phesy that all who will not hearken to Christ will be cut off from among
the people or to Paul’s portrayal of a Savior descending in flaming fire
to take vengeance “on them that know not God, and obey not the
gospel.”40 No Bible verse, however, more effectively bolstered the
saved-destroyed dichotomy than Luke 17:26: “And as it was in the
days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.” This
scripture told the Saints two things. First, the majority of mankind in
their day would reject the message; and second, such people would
therefore be destroyed. “Just precisely as it was then,” wrote the
editors of the Times and Seasons, “so shall it be at the coming of the
Son of Man.’ Revelations shall precede his coming, the whole world
shall ridicule them and cast them off, for so it was in the days of Noah,
and the consequences were, inevitable destruction; and so it will be
with this generation, the righteous only, will be saved.”41 That this
would leave few men to enjoy the Millennium merely accorded with
their understanding of Isaiah’s prophecy that “the inhabitants of the
earth are burned, and few men left.”42 “This destruction,” explained
Parley P. Pratt in his Voice of Warning, “is to come by fire as literally
as the flood in the days of Noah; and it will consume both priests and
people from the earth... or else we must get a new edition of the

38Evening and Morning Star 1 (July 1832): [14].
39D&C 109:43–44; Messenger and Advocate 2 (March 1836): 279. That such comment was more than
mere rhetoric is obvious from diary entries such as Orson Hyde’s record for 16 September 1832: “Called on
sister Laura and her husband Mr. North. They disbelieved. We took our things and left them, and tears from
all eyes freely ran, and we shook the dust of our feet against them, but it was like piercing my heart; and all
I can say is ‘The will of the Lord be done.’” (Cited in Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon
40Moses’ prophecy was originally recorded in Deut. 18:15–19, but the Mormons preferred Peter’s
version as recorded in Acts 3:22–23. Examples of their discussion of this passage can be found in Evening
and Morning Star 1 (September 1832): 30; 2 (June 1849): 161; and Times and Seasons 2 (April 1841): 339.
41Paul’s words are found in 2 Thes. 1:7–10. Examples of how the Mormons used this passage are Evening
and Morning Star 2 (May 1834): 155; Messenger and Advocate 1 (January 1835): 56–57; and Times and
Seasons 1 (December 1839): 26.
42Times and Seasons 2 (March 1841): 351.
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Bible, leaving out the 24th of Isaiah."\(^43\) For literalist Latter-day Saints, it was no more difficult to conceive of the earth being swept clean of every single non-Mormon at the Second Coming than it was to accept the fact the the Flood had destroyed all but the eight believers then in existence. As Parley P. Pratt explained to Queen Victoria, "As Noah was a survivor of a world destroyed, and himself and family the sole proprietors of the earth, so will the saints of the Most High possess the earth, and its whole dominion, and tread upon the ashes of the wicked."\(^44\)

From all that has been presented thus far, it seems clear that a saved-damned duality was deeply entrenched in early Mormon thought. But what about the vision of the three degrees of glory? Did it not immediately uproot all the old "either-or" notions? Did not the Saints quickly discard their former thinking as theologically naive when presented with this vision of a pluralized rather than a polarized afterlife? The answer is "no," and that should not come as much of a surprise to those aware of the historical development of ideas within the Church. Nonetheless, that early Mormons neither understood the implications of the vision of the three degrees of glory nor lampooned notions they still retained is significant enough to merit careful consideration.

First, a brief history. The "Vision," as it was commonly called in the early years, was received by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon in February 1832. Five months later what appears to be the earliest identifiable copy of the revelation was published in The Evening and the Morning Star.\(^45\) The Vision seemed to attract some attention for the first year or two. Though a few "stumbled at it," at least one individual considered it "the greatest news that was ever published to man."\(^46\) Some developed strange ideas about it that required reproof, but even legitimate comments were sufficiently superficial that they offered no real interpretation or elucidation of the Vision and certainly no repudiation of the traditional Christian cosmos.\(^47\) A specific search

\(^{43}\)Parley P. Pratt, *Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People* (New York: Sanford, 1837). Unless the original wording is different, the 1881, Salt Lake edition has been used.

\(^{44}\)Pratt, *Truth Vindicated*, 6.


\(^{46}\)For the "stumbling," see John Murdock Journal, 18, 27–29; and Orson Pratt Journal (1833–54), both in Library-Archives, Historical Division, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. For the "praise," see *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (July 1832): [14].

\(^{47}\)For an account of some who advance doctrinally unacceptable positions, see Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (reprint, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1951), 1:366. For an early but brief discussion that was apparently acceptable, see *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (June 1832): [6]; 1 (July 1832): [22] (this source is reproduced in *History of the Church*, 1:285); and *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (February 1833): [69].
of presently available periodicals, pamphlets, and tracts, as well as hundreds of unpublished diaries, journals, and letters from this time period reveals that throughout the rest of the decade and on into the early 1840s, the Vision was virtually ignored. 48 Admittedly there were numerous references to the celestial kingdom, but that term for most Mormons seems to have been just another name for the heaven Christians had always talked about, and it required no new mental framework to adopt it. Celestial, after all, was a common synonym for heavenly. Discussion, even mention, of the terrestrial and telestial glories, however, which might have hastened the demise of dualistic thinking, appears to have been almost nonexistent. 49 The only example of anything like a substantive commentary on the Vision was Joseph Smith’s 1843 poetic version. 50 Perhaps the experience of reissuing the revelation as a kind of epic poem stimulated the Prophet’s pondering of the overall significance of the Vision, for in the remaining sixteen months of his life he discussed in new ways the nature of hell and the torment of the damned. Furthermore, he specifically ridiculed the pervasive Protestant rhetoric that in the hereafter there were only

48Some have felt that the absence of discussion of the vision of the three degrees of glory was by design, that due to its revolutionary nature, it was considered too advanced for those still needing milk and was therefore intentionally suppressed during the early years. Such thinking is based on the Prophet’s recorded counsel to the English missionaries to “remain silent concerning the gathering, the vision, and the book of Doctrine and Covenants, until such time as the work was fully established” (History of the Church, 2:492). The assumption is that similar restrictions must have been in effect in the United States. There are problems, however. In the first place, there is no documentary evidence to support this extrapolation. On the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to show that such a limitation was not in effect. American missionaries constantly talked of the Gathering. It was central to their millenarian message. They were also occasionally encouraged to preach the “late revelations” (Times and Seasons 4 [April 1843]: 175, for example). Thus two of the three doctrines restricted in Britain were openly advanced in America. Since the vision of the three degrees of glory was merely listed along with other delicate doctrines, rather than being singled out, can its absence in America be considered intentional when the other controversial concepts were freely advocated?

Furthermore, it should be remembered that even in the Prophet’s proscription, provision was made for a later learning when “the work was fully established.” Yet we have no evidence of anything more than passing mention of the vision of the three degrees of glory in any of the early Church headquarters, be it Kirtland, Far West, or early Nauvoo. Though in extant reports of sermons and in the early periodicals we find that the plan of salvation and the afterlife were frequent topics of discussion, they almost never included the Vision, even when written to a gathered Mormon audience accustomed to other deep doctrine.

49One exception to this is the following from W. W. Phelps: “All men have a right to their opinions, but to adopt them for rules of faith and worship, is wrong, and may finally leave the souls of them that receive them for spiritual guides, in the telestial kingdom: For these are they who are of Paul, and of Apollos ... but received not the gospel” (Evening and Morning Star 1 [February 1833]: [69]). Also interesting along this line, though from a decade later, is Joseph’s poetized version:

These are they that came out for Apollos and Paul;
For Cephas and Jesus, in all kinds of hope;
For Enoch and Moses, and Peter and John;
For Luther and Calvin, and even the Pope. (Times and Seasons 4 [February 1843]: 85)

Another exception which illustrates the conceptual confusion apparent when these kingdoms were mentioned is Wilford Woodruff’s record of Zebedee Coltrin’s prophecy upon his head when he was ordained a seventy: “Also that I should visit caves [Kolob] & Preach to the spirits in Prison & that I should bring all of my friends or relatives forth from the Terrestrial Kingdom (who had died) by the Power of the Gospel” (Dean C. Jessee, ed., The Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff, BYU Studies 12 [Summer 1972]: 380).

50Times and Seasons 4 (February 1843): 82–85.
two possible outcomes— heaven or hell. This represents a watershed in Mormon thought.

Until that time, if the Vision were discussed at all, it was done from within an interpretative framework that was still patently polarized. Even the Prophet himself, when describing the thinking which led to the revelation, wrote: "It appeared self-evident from what truths were left [in the Bible], that if God rewarded every one according to the deeds done in the body the term 'Heaven,' as intended for the Saints' eternal home must include more kingdoms than one." There is a subtle difference between saying that there are divisions within heaven and saying that there are different heavens, and the Saints had not yet shifted to the latter position. W. W. Phelps felt that the great value of the Vision lay in providing details on the various heavenly mansions. To be sure, those mansions were distinguished as "the great, greater, [and] greatest," but conceptually they all blended into one "heaven." As Joseph Smith put it:

The glory celestial is one like the sun;
The glory terrestrial is one like the moon;
The glory telestial is one like the stars,
And all harmonize like the parts of a tune.

"Men are agents unto themselves," declared an early Saint, "and they can prepare for a kingdom of glory, or, for one without glory"—as much as if to say, though clothed in new terminology, men can prepare for heaven or for hell. Even part of the poem's final quatrain summed up the entire revelation in dualistic terms: "The secret of life is blooming in heaven, and blasting in hell."

Telling evidence that the Vision did not immediately force an abandonment of traditional notions of damnation and hell is manifest

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51Ehat and Cook, eds., Words of Joseph Smith, 183, 206, 211–14, 240, 244, 319, 330–31, 335, 342–61, 367–72, 381. Of course, Joseph Smith was not the first individual to challenge traditional formulations. Mitigated conceptions of hell, eternal damnation, and divine punishment have been advanced periodically since the days of Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers (see D. F. Walker, The Decline of Hell [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964]).

52History of the Church, 1:245. Such an idea had also occurred to earlier religiousmen. "The idea of different degrees of felicity in future life; as differences of reward was widely prevalent" among patristic theologians. This was also true even of some later Protestant divines. "In opposition to Rome, the influence of personal merit on the future state was denied by these theologians, but some of them, while admitting that blessedness is essentially the same for all, hold to several degrees of blessedness" (John McClinton and James Strong, eds., Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, 10 vols. [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1867–81; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969], 3:315, 517.)

53Evening and Morning Star 1 (July 1832): [14].

54Times and Seasons 4 (February 1843): 85.

55Evening and Morning Star 1 (March 1833): [77]. Or as W. W. Phelps later put it, "The vision points out the degrees of happiness and misery" so plainly that "all of the commonest understanding may learn for themselves what kingdom the Lord will give them an inheritance in" (Messenger and Advocate 1 [February 1855]: 66).

56Times and Seasons 4 (February 1843): 85.
in the Mormon reaction to Universalism. Universalism reflected the optimism of the Age of Enlightenment from which it emerged and, as its name implies, taught that all men would ultimately be redeemed, that damnation would be done away, and that the notion of eternal torment in a lake of sulfurous fire was superstition. Modern Mormons might find much that is appealing in such ideas, believing, as they do, that the vast majority of mankind will ultimately receive some degree of salvation. Early Saints, however, did not react this way. When a Universalist preacher came to Kirtland in 1835, Oliver Cowdery withstood him with the same zeal that Gideon did Nehor, a Book of Mormon "Universalist." What incensed Oliver Cowdery was the audacity of asserting, in the face of overwhelming scriptural proof to the contrary, that there would be no damnation: "If no such principle exists as damnation, and that eternal," Oliver exclaimed, "[God] certainly has spoken nonsense and folly."

It must also be remembered that before the late Nauvoo period there was little explanatory discussion of the term unpardonable sin. Therefore, even if the early Saints had talked of damnation coming in its fullest sense only to "sons of perdition," there were then no conceptual restraints limiting that category to apostate Mormons alone. Again we see that circumstances and understandings in the 1830s did not require interpretations of the Vision that undermined the old saved–damned dichotomy.

As for hell itself, Joseph's belief in its reality, and his use of traditional jargon to describe it, is conspicuous as late as his 1843 poem. Whereas in the original scriptural text of the Vision the word bell is found only once, the Prophet uses it six times in his poem. In terms familiar to any evangelical Protestant, he talks of the ungodly suffering "in hell-fire, and vengeance, the doom of the damn'd." No passage, however, is more striking than this quatrain describing the fate of the sons of perdition:

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58 Messenger and Advocate 1 (July 1835): 151. Lewis O. Saum has recently reminded us of the widespread antipathy to Universalism among the common man in antebellum America (see his The Popular Mood of Pre-Civil War America [Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980], 44–47).

59 A standard current statement on the nature of the unpardonable sin and the sons of perdition is McConkie, Mormon Doctrine, 746, 816–17. Joseph began discussing these topics in depth about the same time he was also modifying his conception of hell and the afterlife, that is, during the final months of his life (see Ehat and Cook, eds., Words of Joseph Smith, 330, 334–35, 342, 347–48, 353–54, 360–61). It is true that in June 1833, Joseph mentioned the sons of perdition, but, as we have already noted, this was only to say that not enough was known about them or their destiny to justify discussing it (History of the Church, 1:366).
They are they who must go to the great lake of fire,
Which burneth with brimstone, yet never consumes,
And dwell with the devil, and angels of his,
While eternity goes and eternity comes.60

If to later Saints a hell that is continually burning but never consumes is a mass of confusion, such was not always the case.

That the Vision is not mentioned in the earliest anti-Mormon works is further evidence that it was not initially seen as subversive to contemporary Protestant thought. Given the tenor of their writings, it is hardly conceivable that such men as Philastus Hurlbut, Origen Bacheler, or La Roy Sunderland would not have eagerly seized the chance to ridicule the Vision had they known about it and perceived its eschatological implications.61 Yet the earliest I have found mention of the doctrine is in ex-Mormon John Corrill’s A Brief History published in 1839. Though Corrill had been a leading elder almost from the first, his comments evidence little more than a mere awareness of the revelation.62 Furthermore, later anti-Mormon commentators like Henry Caswall or J. B. Turner seem only to be borrowing from Corrill.63 The question that follows, then, is why did all these early anti-Mormons overlook that which would later be stock-in-trade for such polemicists if the Vision’s revolutionary significance were widely perceived?

Also significant is the case of former Mormon William Harris. In his exposé, he claimed that the Saints felt that their idea of heaven “shows the superiority of their system over all others” and that they “ridicule as absurd the notion generally entertained of the location and nature of heaven. As a matter of curiosity, then,” William Harris continued, “. . . I will here insert a description of the Mormon Paradise.”64 What follows is not a recapitulation of the Vision, as might be expected from his lead-in, but rather an excerpt from Parley P. Pratt’s Voice of Warning showing heaven would be material, not spiritual, and here on earth, not out in the ethereal blue.65

60Times and Seasons 4 (February 1843): 83.
61Doctor Philastus Hurlbut was the principal collaborator, but the book was published as Eber D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834); Origen Bacheler, Mormonism Exposed (New York: Published at 162 Nassau St., opposite the Park, 1838); and La Roy Sunderland, Mormonism Exposed and Refuted (New York: Piercy and Reed, 1838). There is neither direct mention nor allusion to the vision of the three degrees of glory in any of these works.
62John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints (Commonly Called Mormons) (St. Louis: Printed for the author, 1839), 47.
64William Harris, Mormonism Portrayed (Warsaw, Ill.: Sharp and Gamble, 1841), 23. Harris is mentioned in the context of faithful missionary service in Messenger and Advocate 3 (January 1837): 446.
65Pratt, Voice of Warning, 217–18.
recollection from Harris’s seven years in the Church as to what the Saints actually ridiculed about contemporary notions of heaven further confirms the minimal role of the Vision in early LDS thought.66

That which persisted, however, eventually began to break up. Just four months after the Prophet versified the Vision, he began to publicly and repeatedly denounce the heaven–hell dichotomy. Wilford Woodruff recorded this comment, for example: “Says one I believe in one hell & one heaven all are equally miserable or equally happy, but St Paul informs us of three glories & three heavens.”67 Later, Joseph reiterated, “I do not believe the methodist doctrine of sending honest men, and noble minded men to hell, along with the murderer and adulterer.”68 In the 1844 King Follett discourse we find the culmination of his latest thinking about salvation and damnation. During recent months hell had been acquiring an explicitly nonphysical dimension, and he here announced, “I have no fear of hell fire, that doesn’t exist, but the torment and disappointment of the mind of man is as exquisite as a lake burning with fire and brimstone.”69

If salvation or damnation still revolved around one’s reaction to Mormonism, there was now a qualifier attached: “I call upon all men—priests, sinners, and all . . . [to] obey the gospel. For your

66Harris’s recollection is confirmed in the words of this early Mormon song:

The heaven of sectarians is not the heaven for me;
So doubtful its location, neither on land nor sea.
But I’ve a heaven on the earth—
The land and home that gave me birth,—
A heaven of light and knowledge—
O, that’s the heaven for me, &c.

(Times and Seasons 6 [February 1845]: 799)

67Ehat and Cook, eds., Words of Joseph Smith, 214.
68Ibid., 368.
69For this and subsequent quotations from the King Follett address, I have used the Larson amalgamation of the various contemporary accounts (Stan Larson, “The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text,” BYU Studies 18 [Winter 1978]: 205).

Seven verses in the Book of Mormon directly equate “torment” with a “lake of fire and brimstone” (2 Ne. 9:16, 19, 26; 28:23; Jacob 6:10; Mosiah 3:27; and Alma 12:17). A symbolic connection, however, seems necessary only in Mosiah 3:27 and Alma 12:17, where the word as is used to link the two terms (for example, “Then is the time when their torments shall be as a lake of fire and brimstone, whose flame ascendeth up forever and ever” [Alma 12:17]). For individuals accustomed to a literal hermeneutic, the remaining passages would not have seemed unusual. In well-worn cadences, Jacob 6:10 speaks of going “away into that lake of fire and brimstone, whose flames are unquenchable, and whose smoke ascendeth up forever and ever, which lake of fire and brimstone is endless torment”; 2 Ne. 28:23 also warns of a “place” prepared for them, “even a lake of fire and brimstone, which is endless torment.” It is easy enough to see how such verses with their spatial allusions would not have forced abandonment of traditional perceptions of a physical hell.

Of related interest is the textual change from the 1830 edition in 2 Ne. 9:16. Originally it read, “And they shall go away into everlasting fire, prepared for them; and their torment is a lake of fire and brimstone” (1830 ed., 80). Later the important word as was inserted, and today this verse and the other two mentioned above are invoked to provide scriptural justification for the metaphorical interpretation Joseph Smith began explicitly employing in the last months of his life (for example, McConkie, Mormon Doctrine, 280–81). Significantly, I could find no instance in which either Joseph Smith or any other Latter-day Saint used these verses in such a fashion during the period studied (Grant Underwood, “Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology,” Dialogue 17 [Autumn 1984]: 35–74).
religion won't save you, and if you do not, you will be damned, but," he added, "I do not say how long." Though the concept of a terminable hell was provided for in a revelation received even before the Church was organized (D&C 19), not until Joseph led the way interpretively did others begin describing hell as a purgatory for unrepentant sinners. At the same time, he acknowledged that those who had committed the unpardonable sin "must dwell in hell, worlds without end" and that "they shall rise to that resurrection which is as the lake of fire and brimstone." Only the sons of perdition would be damned in the fullest and most traditional sense. Toward the close of his life, then, Joseph Smith began to emphasize a pluralized, rather than a polarized picture of eternity. He symbolized hell, diminished damnation's domain, and expanded salvation.

The fact that he repeatedly discussed these concepts the last months of his life did not, however, guarantee that they were instantly internalized by the Saints. This is perhaps best illustrated in the case of John Taylor. Throughout this period, John Taylor was closely associated with the Prophet both as editor of the *Times and Seasons* and, from September 1843, as a member of the Anointed Quorum, a select group who had received their temple endowments from the Prophet. John Taylor was thus well exposed not only to Joseph's public but also his private teachings. Yet, in a *Times and Seasons* editorial published less than a year after Joseph's death, John Taylor declared that "hell" is literally "in the midst of the earth, and when Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed they sunk down to hell, and the water covered up the unhallowed spot. . . . No wonder we have earthquakes, hot springs and convulsions in the earth," he continued, "if the damned spirits of six thousand years . . . have gone down into the pit. . . . No wonder the earth groans and is in pain to be delivered as saith the prophet."

If a man as intelligent and literate as John Taylor either did not understand or ignored the Prophet, one can imagine to what degree the finer doctrinal subtleties that Joseph was introducing in the late Nauvoo period actually settled into the conscious understanding of the ordinary member. It is a truism that what one who speaks (or writes) intends to convey is not necessarily what the man who hears (or reads) understands. We simply cannot assume that once an idea was revealed

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70 Larson, "King Follett Discourse," 207. Duration of postmortem punishment was an issue raised by the Universalists.
71 The early revelation is D&C 19:5-12; BC:39-40; D&C (1835): 174-75. The "chains of hell" are given symbolic meaning in Alma 12:9-11. But, again, the verses were not discussed in the early years (Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology," 35-74).
73 *Times and Seasons* 6 (February 1845): 792.
or once it was taught by the Prophet the Saints immediately assimilated it into their mental world. "Mormon thought" was the sum total of the thinking of individual Mormons rather than some creedal collectivity. Thus it is difficult indeed to assert that the Prophet's ideas or even revealed ideas were "Mormon" ideas equally ascribable to leader and layman alike. As Darrett Rutman pointed out some years ago in his study of the Puritans:

The idea that filters past the preconceptions, values, and particular concerns of the imparter, travels the sound waves or light rays to the recipient, filters past the recipient's own preconceptions, values, and concerns, mixes in the melting pot that constitutes the recipient's mind with all the other notions and impressions stored there.

The point here is that even though Joseph opened the door for a further break with traditional Protestant views, the old saved-damned dichotomy did not die out immediately. If by the 1850s some leading Mormons grasped and elaborated on what the Prophet was saying a decade earlier, it should not be assumed that as of 1844 the entire Church shelved "sectarianisms" in favor of less Calvinistic conceptions of salvation and damnation. Nonetheless, Joseph's late Nauvoo teachings did signal the beginning of the end, even if that end came gradually.

CONCLUSION

If it is true that the saved-damned dualism persisted, if indeed the Vision was not initially appreciated for its revolutionary significance, then it remains for us to consider briefly two questions: "Why?" and "So what?" In responding to the first question, we can hardly over-emphasize the biblicism and literalism of the early Saints. In his study of antebellum Protestant theology, George Marsden discusses the period polarities of exegesis then known as "spiritualist" and "literalist" hermeneutics. For those who applied a strictly literal hermeneutic to the scriptures, the numerous graphic descriptions of the physical destruction of the wicked and a plethora of passages basing salvation on belief and damnation on disbelief had to be taken at

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76 A shift is evident in Parley P. Pratt, Key to the Science of Theology (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855); yet the old saved-damned dichotomy persists in Lorenzo Snow's The Only Way to Be Saved which, though originally published in 1841, went through nineteen later English editions and over two dozen foreign language printings right up to the turn of the century.
face value. There was little interpretive leeway. With early Mormons coming from such a tradition, it would have been almost inconceivable that they would immediately drop their polarized perceptions of life and afterlife because of a single revelation, especially when so many other passages in modern scripture seemed to support the age-old dualisms. As the prophets, however, led out in metaphorical and figurative interpretation of certain portions of the Word of God that had usually been interpreted literally and as they explicitly rejected certain facets of contemporary theology, the people generally began to follow suit.

Furthermore, the early Saints had different notions about latter-day revelations. Calling them "commandments" as often as they called them "revelations" evidences a subtle distinction. They utilized these messages more for their directional rather than for their doctrinal value. The excerpts most frequently cited in the periodical literature dealt with some task to be performed rather than some truth to be taught.

Closely related, and also helpful in explaining our findings, is the manifest millenarianism of the early Church. It was truly "a day of warning, not a day of many words." It was a day for first principles, not far-reaching theology. Even if they had been wont to discuss new and unique doctrines not central to the message of the Restoration, how much could an individual have assimilated in the brief transition from hearer to herald? For it was not uncommon that a man who heard the message of the Restoration one day would be out preaching it the next, and with good reason. They felt the end was imminent. All had to be warned and that warning was to come both "by word and by flight." There simply was no time to extensively catechize prospective converts and no systematic creed with which to do it.

So what is the significance of all this? In the first place, it confirms what Brigham Young later said when reflecting on those early years: "I


For a more comprehensive discussion of Christian hermeneutics (*hermeneutica sacra*), see Daniel P. Fuller, *Hermeneutics*, 3d ed. (Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1974). Also valuable for perspective because of its extension into secular hermeneutics (*hermeneutica profana*) is E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1967).

78 This is not unusual in light of the fact that less than one-fifth of the canonized revelations have a purely doctrinal message. "Most of the revelations he [Joseph] received in the early part of his ministry," explained Brigham Young, "pertained to what the few around him should do in this or in that case—when and how they should perform their duties" (cited in Lydon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* [Provo: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981], xii. Cook supports the "task" orientation of the early Saints throughout his book).

never could believe like the mass of the Christian world around me; but I did not know how nigh I believed, as they did. I found, however, that I was so nigh, I could shake hands with them any time I wished.”

Aside from the core concepts of the message of the Restoration, the early Saints do seem handshakingly close to contemporary Christianity. Realizing their proximity to Protestantism also helps explain why some anti-Mormons could charge that the elders “dwell upon the common topics of Christianity” or that “they preach the doctrines they held in other churches, slightly modified by some of their new notions.” Even Joseph Smith himself admitted, “It is often the case that young members in this church, for want of better information, carry along with them their old notions of things and sometimes fall into egregious errors.”

More importantly, however, is that we are a step closer to what LDS church historian James B. Allen called for when he said, “Only recently have Mormon historians begun to study in detail the historical development of ideas within the Church but such a study, if complete, could provide valuable insight into why some concepts have changed from generation to generation while others have remained constant as pillars of the faith.” Absolutely essential to a proper understanding of Mormon thought is that one recognize the “line-upon-line” principle, that is, the construct which allows for a gradual focusing and refining of doctrine based on both human capacity and divine design. From those who would hamstring us with our history, we have little to fear. The more it is studied, the more we realize the naiveté of intersecting our past at any given point in time and expecting to hold the Church accountable for the finality of all views there discovered. Indeed, to pursue Paul’s metaphor, the Church is like a body, and all bodies go through successive stages of development from infancy to adulthood. A wise and loving father does not immediately correct all his children’s mistaken notions nor attempt to teach them all truth at once. Rather, he closely monitors their development, adding, subtracting, and refining until they reach maturity. Would a perfect Father in Heaven be less wise? Continuous revelation is merely his method, the “light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

For now, however, the Saints must be content to say with Paul:

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80Journal of Discourses, 6:281.
81The first quotation is from John A. Clark, Gleaning by the Way (Philadelphia: W. J. and J. K. Simon, 1842), 347; the second is from J. B. Turner, Mormonism in All Ages, 298.
82Times and Seasons 3 (June 1842): 823. For a similar but earlier statement by the Prophet, see Messenger and Advocate 1 (September 1835): 180.
"Saved or Damned"

When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

(1 Cor. 13:11–12)
My Childhood Home

This poem describes a home still standing in Lehi, Utah. The fourteen-room home, named "Rose and Green Villa," was built in 1896 and dedicated by President Wilford Woodruff.

The closing of the front gate was like a death knell. "Don’t look back," my soul warned. "No need to wrench the heart unduly."
Yet slowly I turned and gazed once more at the old beloved home. The downward sun turned windows into a kaleidoscope of blazing magic light.
In my mind’s eye I saw Mother’s old rocking chair wind-agitated, creaking, swaying as of yore.
A place of refuge after weary hours of toil.
She often brought her knitting there or peas to shell. As myriads of poignant memories engulfed me, I wept.
Each fragrant flower, each brick, each room was pregnant with enchantment and the last dreams of youth.
The old house spoke, "Don’t grieve, my child. "Slow change and swift deterioration are both friends in disguise. "Wistful remembrances are forever and counteract the ravages of time. "What the heart treasures most it will keep. "Let peace abide, no need to weep."
—Lois Gardner Dahl

Lois Gardner Dahl, now seventy-eight, lives in Salt Lake City.
The Historians’ Corner

Edited by Ronald W. Walker

One of the purposes of the “Historians’ Corner” is to remind the everyday reader of the value of documentary data. For instance, a trained professional might find within the run-of-the-mill document a single word, phrase, or paragraph that re-creates an era as effectively as a stylist’s vignette. Or perhaps he or she will spot within the tangle of ordinary concerns a biographically revealing incident. Even a document’s tone or rhythm can be important. All that is needed is the sensitive eye to find matter and call it to our attention.

Neither of the letters that we present in this “Historians’ Corner” is ordinary or run-of-the-mill. Both contain new data and shed light on the era producing them. But in each case, the careful commentary of a sensitive historian greatly increases our understanding.

The first is presented by Dr. Everett L. Cooley, a seasoned historian who now serves as collections specialist at the University of Utah Marriott Library. Dr. Cooley provides a Brigham Young holograph which speaks of Utah conditions during the 1850s. Perhaps as significant is the letter’s nonchalant call of Elder George Q. Cannon to the Quorum of the Twelve, which tells a great deal about President Young’s manner and times.

Equally interesting is Dr. Roger D. Launius’s “Joseph Smith III and the Kirtland Temple Suit.” Dr. Launius, who is chief of the Office of History at the United States Air Logistics Center at Ogden, Utah, presents a letter written by Joseph III, the son of Mormonism’s founding prophet. While its style and tone suggest a great deal about the author and even the decision-making process of the early Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the letter most importantly tells a great deal more about the famous Kirtland Temple suit.

Both authors reveal that much is yet to be learned about long-established Mormon issues and eras. Truly, the old historical “trees” of the Mormon forest continue to bear fruit.
A BRIGHAM YOUNG LETTER TO GEORGE Q. CANNON, 1859

Everett L. Cooley

In late 1859, Utah and the Mormon church were trying to return to conditions as they were prior to the disruptions of the Utah War. The full effects of the disruptive "move south" were not yet entirely realized or reconciled, and the citizens were trying to adjust to a new political situation in which the Mormons were no longer in control of any of the appointive government offices in the territory. The Church leaders were attempting to strengthen their organization to cope with the problems arising from the large number of non-Mormons suddenly forced upon them in the form of an army and the numerous camp followers associated with the armed forces.

These were the conditions President Brigham Young alluded to when he wrote to his special emissary to the eastern United States, George Q. Cannon. Of special interest is President Young's statement that Cannon had just been named an Apostle in the Church hierarchy, but that there would not be a public announcement of this action because of Cannon's special assignments in Washington and the eastern states.

Acquired by the Special Collections Department, University of Utah Libraries, in 1972 from a grandson of George Q. Cannon, this letter is here published for the first time. It is one of several interesting letters found in the Brigham Young Collection of the library.

G. S. L. City, Nov. 3, 1859

Elder George Q. Cannon,
New York City,
Dear Brother:—

Your interesting letter of July 22, with accompany slip of Aug. 5, came safe to hand, and the record of your doings met my cordial approval. Our this season's emigration arrived in good condition and spirits, including br. E. R. Young & company who brought up the rear, having started rather late. But the fall was very favorable to late arrivals, the weather having been and still being remarkably pleasant.

1 Ebenezer Russel Young, from New Jersey, was apparently no relative of Brigham Young. He came to Utah with his family prior to 1859 and then returned east with special communications for Thomas L. Kane and others. He then headed west with an immigrant company (Frank Esshom, Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah [Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Co., 1913], 1270). The Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on 27 October 1859 records: "Bro. E. R. Young's company arrived from the States. They left on the 25th of August. This is the last company which will arrive this season. (See also Thomas L. Kane to Brigham Young, 25 July 1859, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, reel 71, box 40, folder 8, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.)
The national Utah fever having abated, I shall venture to write more fully by mail than I deemed to be prudent when post offices and mail bags were meeting very close inspection. With the exception of a few troops at Bridger, the army in Utah is concentrated in Camp Floyd where they are quietly pursuing the routine of camp duties, with what particular benefit to themselves or any body else is mainly left for those who sent and are keeping them here to point out. However, we will venture to explain a little. They brought a large amount of money, goods, mules, wagons, iron, &c., &c., articles much needed in our Territory, and a large portion of which has already been scattered among the people, adding much to their comfort and present and future prosperity. How long Government may see fit to retain an army at immense expense in a locality where its services have no opportunity for benefitting the country, we neither know nor care, for though the above enumerated local profits arising from their presence are very convenient, and to the natural man somewhat tempting, still we have prospered without them when we were few and poor, and with like conduct should certainly be able to do so now that we are comparatively numerous and wealthy.

Judge Eckles confines himself and operations very closely in Camp Floyd, with what object or consistency, as a Territorial Judge, perhaps his friends can explain. Judge Cradelbaugh, when last heard from, was in California; and Judge Sinclair has left for the States, as also have Secretary Hartnett and D'E Forney. Gov. Cummings agreeable to resolution passed by the last Legislative Assembly, which he states he subsequently approved, has issued a proclamation convening the next assembly in the Social Hall in this City, a locality affording far greater facilities for Legislative business than Fillmore can as yet, and much pleasanter and more acceptable to the members for many reasons.

D'E W. Beach, of New York City, on the 24th of June last wrote me a very interesting letter, and kindly tendered me the present of one of his works, entitled "Family Physician", wishing me, in case I accepted the present, to inform him how he should

2Brigham Young's concern about the security of transmitting information by mail stems from charges before and during the Utah War that the Mormons were intercepting and censoring mail and the non-Mormon officials were doing the same. There seems to be substance to the charges because when George Q. Cannon visited Thomas L. Kane, the Mormons' friend and special contact with the Buchanan administration, Kane expressed his pleasure at personal contact with a Brigham Young emissary, thus escaping the "prying post office" (Kane to Young, 25 April 1860, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, reel 71, box 40, folder 9). This is not the only instance of Kane's expressed concern about information being intercepted in the mails. He wrote, "I write as much as I am willing to entrust to the care of the U.S. mail" (Kane to Young, 15 August 1860, ibid).


4The problems the Utahs had with the newly appointed federal officers have been dealt with in Furniss, Mormon Conflict; in Gustive O. Larson, The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971); and in Everett L. Cooley, "Carpetbag Rule: Territorial Government in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 26 (1958): 106–29. In the latter article (p. 115), note especially the exchange of views between Governor Alfred E. Cumming and Daniel H. Wells concerning the irregularities in the acts of the territorial legislature. Andrew Love Neff's History of Utah, 1847 to 1869 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940) goes into great detail on the subject of Utah-federal relations. Howard R. Lamar, The Far Southwest, 1846–1912, a Territorial History (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966), also has a good account of Utah-federal relations of this period.
forward it. Please be so good as to call upon D. Beach, No. 34, West 41 St., New York City, and tender him my thanks for his kind note and very acceptable present, and inform him that if he will hand you the book you will see that it is forwarded to me by the first safe opportunity.

The last mail Oct 24, brought a highly interesting letter from our Friend, which I purpose answering at an early date.

On the 23 of October the First Presidency and Twelve met in the Historian's Office, when you were unanimously elected to fill the vacancy in the Quorum of the Twelve, occasioned by the death of Parly P. Pratt. Your election has not been made public in our papers, nor as yet in the Tabernacle, lest it might in some way militate against the operations in which you are presently engaged. The choice will be made public so soon as it may be deemed wise so to do. Br. Jacob Gates was, at the same meeting, elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the apostasy of Benjamin L. Clapp.

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5The Incoming Correspondence of Brigham Young contains the letter of W. Beach, M.D., dated 24 June 1859. One paragraph sufficed to attract the attention of Brigham Young. It reads:

My principal object in writing to you now is to ask if you would like to have a copy of my medical work on The Defence of Botanic Practice of Medicine believing as you do that the gift of healing is ever in the true Church. This gift has been committed to me as you will see by reading my works and more especially by following the principles therein laid down or recommended. (Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, reel 51, box 25, folder 23.)

6“Our Friend” is, of course, Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia, who befriended and defended the Mormons as early as 1846. He was the one who brought the opposing sides together for a peaceful settlement of the Utah War. Kane had a personal “in” with President James Buchanan and members of his cabinet. Both George Q. Cannon and Kane himself use the expression “your old friend” in communications with Brigham Young. The exchange of letters during this period between Brigham Young and Thomas Kane proves most valuable to understand the efforts to smooth relations between the Mormons and the Buchanan administration, which had dispatched troops to Utah in 1857 (see Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, especially reel 71, box 40, folders 8 and 9). Kane relates that Buchanan “privately rebuked [General Albert S. Johnston] severely, and [he] would not make such another blunder [to support Judge John Cradlebaugh’s attack against the Mormons] in a hurry.” Kane also defended Superintendent of Indian Affairs Jacob Forney and Alexander Wilson, territorial attorney, as being friendly to the Mormons. Furthermore, Kane shed some light on the character of Governor Alfred E. Cumming by indicating that Cumming was given to excessive drinking (Kane to Young, 24 July 1859). In this same letter a point of interest is Kane’s request of Brigham Young for a full and confidential account of the Mountain Meadows massacre to be addressed to him thus: “my dear Colonel Kane: The truth of the whole matter about the massacre at the Meadows was———.” Brigham Young’s account is not presently located in his correspondence to Thomas Kane for this period. Kane wanted Brigham Young’s version to present to United States Attorney General Jeremiah Black to be used “for good purposes.”

7Parley P. Pratt was killed in Arkansas on 13 May 1857 by Hector H. McLean, whose wife had left him and become a polygamist wife of Elder Pratt. This event is well covered in Steven Pratt, “Eleanor McLean and the Murder of Parley P. Pratt,” BYU Studies 15 (Winter 1975): 225–56. The Journal History under date of 23 October 1859 gives the following account of the “electing” of George Q. Cannon to the Apostleship. After some discussion of possible candidates to fill the vacancy, Orson Hyde proposed “that the Presidency nominate and that we sustain their nomination.” Whereupon Brigham Young agreed to such action if he had the unanimous vote of the Council. He was given his requested support:

Frest. Young - I nominate George Q Cannon for one of the Twelve, and Jacob Gates for one of the Presidency of Seventies. Amen, amen, responded by several.

If all you feel that it is right for George Q Cannon to fill the vacancy in the Twelve, signify it by uplifted hands. Unanimous Vote

If all you feel that it is right for Jacob Gates to fill the vacancy in the Seventies, signify it by the same sign. Unanimous Vote . . . .

Geo. A. Smith suggested the publication of the appointments.

Frest. Young thought it not wisdom at present. Geo. Q. is known from St. Joseph to St. Louis and in the East in connection with our business and trading.

8Jacob Gates, born in Vermont on 9 May 1811, was baptized into the LDS church in 1835 by Orson Pratt. He lived through the difficulties of Missouri in the 1830s and then became a resident of Nauvoo. He came to Utah in the fall of 1847 and was called as a missionary to England in 1849, where he remained for three years. Continuing to serve the Church in Utah, he was again called as a missionary in 1859. He returned to Utah in 1861 and was ordained as one of the First Council of Seventy in 1862. He held several elected and appointive political offices including that of representative to the territorial legislature for Washington and
I wish you to make arrangements to come here as early as possible next season. In doing so it will be well for you to consult with br. Hooper as to the time br. Andrew Moffat will leave the frontier, and time your movements so as to cross the plains with him, unless you find a safe opportunity for coming sooner.

Our crops have generally proved good, the weather unusually pleasant, and all things are working together for the welfare of those who are striving to do good upon the earth in their day and generation

Praying for your prosperity in every good word and work.

I remain, as ever,
Your Brother in the Gospel,
Brigham Young

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Kane counties. He was the father of Jacob F. Gates, who in 1880 married Susa Young, daughter of Brigham Young and Lucy Bigelow (Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* [Salt Lake City: Published by Author, 1901], 1:197-98, 2:625-26).

Benjamin L. Clapp was born in Alabama in 1814. An early pioneer to Utah, he served on the first city council of Salt Lake City and also served as one of the LDS Seven Presidents of the Seventies from 1845 to 1859, when he was excommunicated from the LDS church as he encountered difficulties with Bishop Warren S. Snow in Sanpete County (ibid., 1:195).

George Q. Cannon remained in New Jersey and Washington working with William H. Hooper (Utah delegate to Congress) and directing the affairs of the LDS church in the East. When he returned to Utah in August 1860, he was officially ordained an Apostle (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:42-51; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church* [reprint, Provo: Brigham Young Univ. Press, 1965], 4:501-2). Apparently it was at this time that his position was first publicized.

Upon the receipt of Brigham Young’s letter notifying him of his selection as an Apostle, George Q. Cannon responded:

I know that I scarcely need say to you how peculiar my feelings were on reading in your letter of my appointment to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve, occasioned by the death of Bro. Parley. You know, I am sure, much better what they were and are than I can write them. I had to steal aside to give vent to my feelings and hide the tremor that shook my frame. I trembled with fear and dread, and yet I was filled with joy—fear—and dread when I reflected on my weakness and unworthiness and the great responsibility that rested upon one holding the apostleship, and joy to think of the goodness and favor of the Lord and the love and confidence of my brethren. Never shall I forget, I trust, the feelings and desires I then had. May the Lord give me grace and strength to magnify this Holy Priesthood and calling to the glory of His name and the salvation of His Israel, is my earnest prayer. (George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 13 Dec. 1859, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, reel 68, box 38, folder 5.)

William H. Hooper was Utah’s second delegate to Congress, elected on 4 March 1859 to succeed Dr. John M. Bernhisel, who had served in Washington since 1851. Hooper was born in Eastern Shore, Maryland, 25 December 1813. He became a successful merchant and a steamboat captain before he came to Utah in 1850. Prior to his election to Congress, he served in the Utah legislature and as secretary of Utah Territory. Hooper served one term in Congress, 1859–61, and was then replaced by Bernhisel. However, Hooper was again elected as delegate to Congress from Utah in 1869 and served until replaced by George Q. Cannon in March 1873. In Utah in 1868, Hooper was one of the organizers of Zion’s Cooperative Mercantile Institution and one of the founders of the Bank of Deseret. He remained president of the bank until his death 30 December 1882. (For an account of Hooper, see Stanford Orson Cazier, “The Life of William Henry Hooper, Merchant, Statesman” [Master’s thesis, Univ. of Utah, 1956].)

Andrew J. Moffitt apparently accompanied William Hooper to Washington when Hooper was elected to office in 1859. Moffitt served as a courier and captain of an overland freight company. He later became bishop of Manti in Sanpete County.
JOSEPH SMITH III AND THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE SUIT

Roger D. Launius

On 23 February 1880, Judge L. S. Sherman of the Court of Common Pleas, Lake County, Ohio, announced the decision awarding ownership of the historic Kirtland Temple, the Mormon religious edifice completed in 1836, to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the plaintiff in the case. Judge Sherman’s opinion noted in part:

That the said Plaintiff, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is a religious Society, founded and organized upon the same doctrines and tenets, and having the same church organization, as the original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, organized in 1830, by Joseph Smith, and was organized pursuant to the constitution, laws and usages of said original Church, and has branches located in Illinois, Ohio and other States. . . .

And the Court do further find that the Plaintiff, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, is the True and Lawful successor of, and successor to the said original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, organized in 1830, and is entitled in law to all its rights and property. 1

Members of the Utah-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints might argue that the question of which church was the legitimate successor was not really at issue in this case, that it was merely a routine suit to quiet title to real estate and was decided on technical grounds. And indeed, the LDS church was not even represented in the court. However, Judge Sherman’s finding was very important to members of the Reorganized church during the years following its issuance since it was the affirmation of a legal tribunal that their church was the legal successor to the early Mormon movement. 2

While the outcome of the lawsuit was favorable toward the Reorganization, many important questions could be asked about the legal actions. Why, for instance, did the Reorganized church press its lawsuit at this particular time? Why did it not sue earlier? Why, moreover, did the church as an organization sue at all since two of its leading officials—President Joseph Smith III and a close adviser,

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1 Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints vs Lucius Williams, et al., p. 488, Record T, Court of Common Pleas, Lake County Courthouse, Painesville, Ohio.
Mark H. Forscutt—already held a title to the temple and were in possession of the building? Indeed, these men were two important defendants named in the lawsuit. Why, also, did Judge Sherman rule in this manner? What issues arose during the lawsuit to support the judge’s opinion during the case? The Reorganized church has developed an explanation that satisfactorily answers these questions for the membership.5 Essentially, the church’s explanation is that when Joseph Smith, Jr., and the majority of the Saints departed from Kirtland in 1838 they abandoned the temple. For almost forty years the building was used by a variety of individuals and groups as a school, as office space, and upon several occasions as a place of worship. During this period, however, none of these individuals or groups held legal title to the building, paid taxes on the property, or performed anything more than cursory maintenance upon the structure.4

Beginning on 29 October 1860, the probate court of Lake County, Ohio, took action to settle the question of ownership of property in the Kirtland area that had been recorded in the name of Joseph Smith, Jr., the Trustee in Trust for the Church. A part of this property included the temple. The court concluded that all this Kirtland property should be sold to pay the debts that Joseph Smith had incurred to a local merchant, Grandison Newell, and other residents of the area. The probate court made the appropriate arrangements for the sale, and on 18 April 1862 sold the property to William L. Perkins, a prosperous businessman in the area. On the same day Perkins conveyed that portion of Smith’s estate containing the temple in a quit claim deed to Russell Huntley, a member at one time or another of several Mormon splinter


4For instance, by 1 October 1838 the “Western Reserve Teacher’s Seminary and Kirtland Institute” had begun using the building as a school, and during the later 1840s and early 1850s J. F. Ryder, a local photographer, used the temple as his gallery (Western Reserve Teacher’s Seminary and Kirtland Institute, Broadside, 17 July 1838, Lake County Historical Society, Mentor, Ohio; I. T. Frary, “Mormonism’s First Temple,” American Antiquities Journal, October 1947, 10; S. J. Kelley, “Brigham Young and Kirtland’s Mormon Temple,” Kirtland File A, Lake County Historical Society). Various Latter Day Saint groups also met in the temple intermittently after 1840. For example, in 1841 Joseph Smith, Jr., reestablished a stake at Kirtland, presided over by Almon Babbitt, the group using the temple continuously until at least 1844 (“Minutes of the Conference at Kirtland,” Times and Seasons [Nauvoo, Ill.] 3 [1 November 1841]: 587–89; “A Record of the First Quorum of Elders Belonging to the Church of Christ in Kirtland, Geauga Co., Ohio, 1836–1870,” 28 March 1841–3 October 1841. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Library–Archives, Independence, Mo.). After the death of the Prophet, members of the splinter groups led by Sidney Rigdon, James Colen Brewer, and Zadoc Brooks held meetings in the Kirtland Temple at one time or another during the 1840s and 1850s (Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate [Pittsburgh, Pa.] 2 [15 March 1845]: 145; Reuben McBride to Brigham Young, 28 July 1845, Brigham Young’s Incoming Correspondence, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City; “The Word of the Lord to His People,” The Olive Branch [Kirtland, Ohio] 1 [December 1849]: 81–83; “Proclamation,” The Olive Branch 1 [February 1849]: 127; James C. Brewster, “The Re-establishment of the Churches,” The Olive Branch 1 [March 1849]: 145–49; Steven L. Shields, Divergent Paths of the Restoration [Bountiful, Utah: Restoration Research, 1982], 84–85).
groups and a man who had long had an interest in the temple. Huntley held the temple for more than a decade, but on 17 February 1873 Joseph Smith III and Mark H. Forscutt acquired Huntley's title for $150. They controlled the Kirtland Temple without dispute until 1875 when the RLDS church leadership, Smith and Forscutt included, determined that the quit claim deed was insufficient to ensure the perpetual ownership of the property and that the church should undertake a lawsuit to secure a final settlement. Accordingly, the Presiding Bishop, the church's chief financial officer, filed suit in the Lake County Court of Common Pleas in 1878 and received a favorable verdict in February 1880. In the view of the Reorganized church, the reason for the favorable verdict was simple; it was predicated on the evidence presented by the church's attorneys about the legitimacy of the movement within Mormondom.

While certain questions about the nature of the court case are outside the parameters of this study, some issues concerning the background of the case could possibly be reexamined. For example, some evidence suggests that the Kirtland Temple suit arose not so much from the practical desire to clear the title and secure the sacred structure for the Reorganization but rather in large measure because of some peculiar financial difficulties on the part of Joseph Smith III and Mark H. Forscutt. The letter reproduced here was written by Joseph Smith III to Alexander Fyfe in response to a request for reimbursement for the funds that Fyfe had loaned Mark H. Forscutt some years before with the temple property as collateral. In the letter Smith explained his and Forscutt's attempt to sell the temple in 1875 to the city of Kirtland to raise funds to pay certain financial obligations. They were unsuccessful in this attempt because of the complications of the title, whereupon they sought to gain clear title from the Reorganized church as a corporation. When they failed in this attempt, the Presiding Bishop decided to pursue legal action to clear the title for the church organization, not for the personal gain of two of its leaders. The original letter

5 "Estate of Joseph Smith, Jr., Deceased," Administrative Docket A, p. 240, Lake County Courthouse; Real Estate Record D, pp. 81, 371; Lake County Courthouse; Real Estate Record S, p. 526; "Abstract of Title and Encumbrances: To Land in the Township of Kirtland County of Lake and State of Ohio," The Clark and Pike Company, Abstractors and Engineers, Willoughby, Ohio, copy in Kirtland Temple Historic Center, Kirtland, Ohio.

6 Smith and Smith, History of Reorganized Church, 4:304.

7 Alexander Fyfe had been born in Scotland on 23 July 1841. As a young man he came to the United States and settled in the Midwest. He came into contact with the Reorganized church during the Civil War and was baptized by Elder John T. Phillips on 26 June 1865 at Blue Ridge, Jackson County, Missouri (Early Reorganization Minutes, 1852-1871, 31 December 1871, p. 819, Reorganized Church Library–Archives). By the latter part of 1870 Fyfe had settled at Belleville, Illinois, about twenty miles east of St. Louis, where he met Mark Forscutt, an appointed minister working for the church in the area (True Latter Day Saints' Herald 18 [1 January 1871]: 24). Later Fyfe settled in Kirtland, Ohio, where he was living when this correspondence with Joseph Smith III took place.
The Historians' Corner

is contained on pages 380–84 in the Joseph Smith III Letterpress Book #3, covering the period between 18 February 1880 and 30 June 1883, held in the library/archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri. It was written, unlike most of the other letters in this book, so that two pages of the letter were on one page of the book. It has been reproduced without textual changes, although explanatory notations have been added where necessary.

Dear Bro Alexander Fyfe

I have labored under the impression that I had written to you once, stating quite plainly all I knew about the Temple and M. H. Forscutt's note.8

About 1872 or 3, Bro Russell Huntley, deeded the Kirtland Temple to Elder Forscutt and myself.9 He held under title derived by the forcing to sale a claim against my father's personal estate.10 Elder F. and I never paid anything out on the Temple except taxes, to

8In the early 1870s, while he was working for the church as a full-time minister in the St. Louis area, Forscutt organized a cooperative store supported by several church members in the area as well as by other interested parties. He assembled, initially, about fifteen investors who each gave $100 to the venture and intended to recover their money once the cooperative proved successful. Among these individuals was Alexander Fyfe, who obtained from Forscutt a personal note for the money payable upon the sale of the temple (see Smith, "Memoirs," Saints' Herald 82 [3 Dec. 1935]: 1553).

9Russell Huntley was born in 1807. He had been a resident of Kirtland, Ohio, during the early 1850s, while a follower of Zadoc Brooks, one claimant to the mantle of the Prophet. Huntley, a prosperous businessman, purchased considerable property in Kirtland, but after the demise of Brooks's movement in the 1850s he sold his property and engaged in other pursuits. He eventually settled in DeKalb County, Illinois, where he met several Reorganized church members, among them Joseph Smith III and Mark Forscutt. Huntley and Forscutt became good friends over the course of several months, and in the process Forscutt brought Huntley into the Reorganization (Smith, "Memoirs," 1167–68, 1552–53; "Review of Error Exposed," True Latter Day Saints' Herald 1 [March 1860]: 69–76; Russell Huntley to John M. Adams, 20 April 1868, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers, Reorganized Church Library–Archives).

Later Huntley moved to California and aided the efforts of the Reorganization on the Pacific Slope for several years. In 1876, when Joseph Smith III made his first far western trip, he renewed his acquaintance with Huntley. While in California, Huntley proposed to Smith that he lend the church a sizeable sum of money for investment, the proceeds to be placed in a trust to fund the publication of the sealed portion of the plates from the Book of Mormon. The Reorganized church leadership accepted this proposition, and within a short time Huntley loaned the church $5,000 at seven percent interest. Before three years had passed, however, several business reverses forced Huntley to ask for the return of his money. The church's bishopric could not return it immediately, although Huntley received the principal with interest within a year of his request. This business venture, along with other difficulties concerning the Reorganization, prompted Huntley to withdraw his membership and to affiliate with a Mormon splinter group led by David Whitmer; he remained with this group until his death in 1890 (Henry A. Stebbins to Russell Huntley, 27 December 1876, 24 January 1877, 8 March 1877, all in Forscutt–Stebbins Letterbook, Reorganized Church Library–Archives; Hiram P. Brown to Joseph Smith III, 7 June 1880, Joseph Smith III Papers, Reorganized Church Library–Archives; Joseph Smith III, "Editorial," Saints' Herald 28 [15 Jan. 1881]: 23; The Return [Davis City, Iowa] 2 [Sept. 1890]: 353–356).

Huntley had long wanted to gain possession of the Kirtland Temple because of the religious significance it held for him, and he gained his opportunity when the Lake County probate court began liquidating the assets of the Kirtland estate of Joseph Smith, Jr., on 29 October 1860. He acquired a quit claim deed to the temple property on 18 April 1862 from William L. Perkins, purchaser of the real estate from the court-ordered sale. Huntley spent over $2,000 to renovate the building and afterward allowed the tiny Reorganized church congregation in Kirtland to use the building ("Estate of Joseph Smith, Jr., Deceased"); "Abstract of Title and Encumbrances"; Joseph Smith III, Diary, 17 February 1873–17 March 1873, Reorganized Church Library–Archives; George E. Paine, "Abstract of Title," 5 January 1878, copy in Kirtland Temple Historic Center).

10This assertion was not entirely true, for Henry Holcomb, the administrator of the Joseph Smith, Jr., estate in Lake County, and the probate court agreed to sell the property "to pay debts against decedent, Joseph Smith, Jr., and it was ordered by the Court that the Widow, Emma, shall receive $4.11 annually, during life" (Paine, "Abstract of Title").
the amount of $66, and a little over, mostly paid by me, Bro F. refunding to me from time to time his part. 11 The Bishop and some others always held that Bro. Huntley had no title, and that the Temple belonged to the cburch, not to Elds. F. and I. In 1875, a Mr. Carpenter, of Kirtland corresponded with me wishing to buy the temple for a Town Hall, he being a Town officer. 12 I wrote him that we would sell for $2,500. 10, 13 He thought they would take it; but must first look up the title. This we did in July 1875. I went to Kirtland in the latter part of July to complete sale and make out papers, when Mr. Carpenter informed me that the Town would not buy, as the title was not in Eld. F. & I. But if we would perfect the title and get a deed from the cburch, they might talk with us. Of course, I could not promise, nor do that, as, if the property was not mine and Bro. F’s we would not sell what was not ours. 14 At the next, or a later Conference the Bishop was ordered to make inquiries as to title of Kirtland Temple. He did so, securing an abstract of Title. This showed [the] property in the church. He was ordered to proceed to perfect title. He asked me and Bro. F. to deed [our title to the church]. I told him that we would not deed; but that the church must proceed in the Court. This he at once proceeded to do. The Court decided the property belonged to the Church, and not

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11Between the date, Joseph Smith III and Mark Forscutt acquired the temple title in 1873 and the time that the lawsuit began, the two men paid $66.29 for taxes. Once the decision for court action had been made in January 1878, they refused to pay any further taxes (Joseph Smith III to Joseph F. McDowell, 16 June 1877; Joseph Smith III to Mark H. Forscutt, 3 March 1880; both in Joseph Smith III Letterbook #1A, Reorganized Church Library–Archives). President Smith wrote to the collector of taxes explaining the situation: “I have been informed that the property is church property and as such not subject to taxation. This will therefore give you notice that neither Mr. Forscutt nor myself will hold ourselves responsible for the taxes now due” (Joseph Smith III to Collector of Taxes for Kirtland, 23 February 1878, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #1A). He also told Forscutt of the action:

The Bishop has procured an abstract of title to the Temple at Kirtland; and upon that abstract, it has been decided by legal authority, that the title is in the church, and the property not subject to tax.

As there will be a trial of this as soon as an attempt is made to collect the taxes, I have notified the Collector of the fact. I have also directed the possession to be delivered to the Bishop, subject to further action.

This I have done as precautionary measures against improper complications (Joseph Smith III to Mark H. Forscutt, 22 February 1878, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #1A).

12In his memoirs, written thirty-five years after the event, Joseph Smith III recalled that Carpenter was a local public school official who wanted to purchase the building for use as an educational facility (Smith, “Memoirs,” 1553).

13Without question, Joseph Smith III had purchased the building with the intention of selling it to offset an overburdening financial obligation. Beginning in 1856, when a farming partnership Joseph had entered with his brother Frederick G. W. Smith began to falter as a result of general economic hardship in the Midwest, the brothers had to borrow extensively to continue operations. By the winter of 1858 they were more than $2,500 in debt, and when Frederick died suddenly in 1862 the debts incurred in the partnership became the sole responsibility of Joseph. There, along with other financial obligations made later, remained with the prophet throughout his life. Periodically he complained about the weight of his debts to his friends and always encouraged his children to avoid such financial troubles. For instance, he wrote to his son Israel A. Smith in 1898: “Let me reiterate my counsel, ‘Keep out of debt.’ Forty years of paying interest has emphasized this lesson on me and I want my sons to profit from my errors” (Joseph Smith III to Israel A. Smith, 26 December 1898, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers; see also Joseph Smith III to Cousin Mary B., 4 December 1877, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #1A; Joseph Smith III to Israel A. Smith, 17 February 1898, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers). Furthermore, almost a year before Joseph Smith III had acquired formal title to the temple from Huntley, but after the two parties had discussed the transfer, Joseph wrote to his mother, Emma Smith Bidamon, at Nauvoo, Illinois, explaining that he had written to the city of Kirtland offering the temple for sale. He noted, “Should I be able to sell for the price offered I will be able to get out of debt, for which I shall feel profoundly grateful to the Lord. However, I dare not build any air castles; they are such cob house affairs” (Joseph Smith III to Emma Smith Bidamon, 8 March 1872, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers).

14Apparently, Joseph Smith III sought to persuade the Presiding Bishop of the church, Israel L. Rogers, to give him a quit claim deed for the property so he could complete the sale, but Bishop Rogers refused, demanding instead a deed from Smith and Forscutt for their claim to the property, but they refused as well. This established the necessity of the lawsuit to clear the title (Smith, “Memoirs,” 1553).
to Smith, Forscutt & others.\textsuperscript{15} I asked Conference to refund taxes, which they ordered the Bishop to do and he did, paying me $33.67 and Bro. Forscutt $33.67, or about that sum, amounts paid by us on taxes assessed to us in temple during our holding it.\textsuperscript{16}

Bro Russell Huntley, after he got possession, spent about $2,500.00 roofing and repairing, but Bro Forscutt & I, not a dollar except a few dollars received for rent by Bro Joseph McDowell, at one time our agent in charge of Temple, and which he expended in refitting the assembly room to hold Sunday services in.\textsuperscript{17} Bro. Forscutt seems to be of the opinion that the Church should pay to him and me, the $2,500 expended by Bro Huntley; but I do not so hold. It could not be paid to us of right; unless Bro Huntley had expressly assigned his claim, which he did not. If the Church is bound to pay anyone it is Bro. Huntley; but I think, even he could not legally collect.

As for Bro Forscutt's note to you, neither myself, as an officer of the Church, nor as an individual; nor the Bishop, nor the Church, is under a particle of obligation to you in any sense. We had nothing to do with the making of the note, either as principals, or securers, or endorsers; and it is entirely useless to hold the note as a claim against the Church which it is bound to liquidate.\textsuperscript{18}

At the time Bro Forscutt gave you the note he believed that Huntley's title was good, and I Knew nothing to the contrary. Both supposed that we had the right to sell. The effort to sell was genuine, and we both supposed that the sale was made; and I went to Kirtland in purpose to complete it. But the men to whom we were to sell thought it best to inquire about it; and they found our title at fault, and declined unless I would make the title in behalf of the Church, which I neither could, nor would. Bro Forscutt fully believed that he held half interest in a bone fide title and that the sale was valid, (as I fully believe), and therefore made no misrepresentation to you at the time he made the note to you.

The above is all I knew about it. That the church might properly pay the note in kindness and justice to Bro Mark, I make no question; but they are neither bound legally

\textsuperscript{15}In an effort to clear the title, the church in the spring of 1876 asked George E. Paine, an attorney in Painesville, Ohio, to compile an abstract of the title. In January 1878 Paine forwarded the abstract to the Reorganized church leadership. Bishop Rogers became convinced even more by this document that the true title of the temple rested with the church rather than with any individual or group of individuals, even if they were the heirs of Joseph Smith, Jr. (Joseph Smith III to George E. Paine, 27 April 1876, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #1A; Henry A. Stebbins to George E. Paine, 14 January 1879, Forscutt–Stebbins Letterbook, Joseph Smith III to George E. Paine, 31 January 1879, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #2, Reorganized Church Library–Archives; Paine, “Abstract of Title,” 5 January 1878; Smith and Smith, \textit{History of Reorganized Church}, 4: 148, 172, 211).

\textsuperscript{16}Joseph Smith III remarked in a letter to Forscutt of 3 March 1880 that “a decision has been reached in the Kirtland Temple matter, and Bro Rogers is ready to return us our taxes.” The entire sum of the taxes, however, was somewhat less than this total, standing at $66.29 for the period from June 1873 through December 1877 (Smith to Forscutt, 3 March 1880).

\textsuperscript{17}Joseph F. McDowell was a Reorganized church member from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who moved to Kirtland during the 1860s and was employed as Smith and Forscutt's manager of the temple. He was later succeeded in this position by his son, James McDowell. The McDowells paid the taxes on the property, collected rent from those who used the building—particularly from the Reorganized church congregation that met there during this period—and made whatever repairs were necessary for the maintenance of the building (Smith, “Memoirs,” 1167; Joseph Smith III to Joseph F. McDowell, 16 June 1876, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #1A; Joseph Smith III to Frederick V. Mather, 23 December 1879, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #2).

\textsuperscript{18}Pyfe held that Forscutt's mismanagement of the cooperative store in St. Louis caused its failure and that his losses should be reimbursed by either Forscutt or the Reorganized church. Joseph Smith III apparently agreed that the management of the store had been less than satisfactory. He commented in his memoirs that Forscutt had rented a large brick building outside the business district at $600 per year, had purchased a delivery wagon and horses for $400, and employed not only himself as manager at $75 per month but also employed an assistant. Joseph Smith III was of the opinion that with such “a combination of overhead expenses that a company organized with a capital of twelve to fifteen hundred dollars would not be able to carry for a very long time” (Smith, “Memoirs,” 1553).
nor morally. What decision the Bishopric may make I do not know, but I believe that not one of the three will favor the of paying of it unless ordered to be done, directly by Conference; and I think Conference would not pay you as a matter of claim against the church or the Temple. The Temple, has never been sold since the note was given, and your note is not due until it is so sold.

Of course, there are no intent[s] on Bro Forscutt’s part to wrong you; but you pressed him to repay you money put by you into a mercantile venture, as a matter of business, in which you should have known and been prepared for the loss by failure, and to share in the loss; as you were ready to share in the proceeds of its success, and whatever blame may attach to Bro Mark in said venture, you are in part responsible, as all the working details of the plan were carefully laid down at the beginning before all the stockholders, of which you were one, if I am correctly informed. You are the only one that I am aware of who is feeling unduly distressed because of the failure of that Cooperative store venture. I find no fault, as it is none of my business. Somebody blundered; and I think several did. I, of course do not know what you will or can do, about it; nor have I any advise to give should the church ever repay to Bro Forscutt, or to me the money expended by Bro Huntley, if should he ever assign the interest to us, which I have no knowledge that he has ever done, I make no doubt that Bro Forscutt will take pleasure in repaying your money with reasonable interest, though I fail to see why he should do so except for his note; which I see no good reason for his having given.

I am sorry for your money embarrassment.

Yours Jos Smith

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19Neither the church’s bishopric nor the general conference ever seriously considered paying the note Mark Forscutt had given Alexander Fyfe, although the question was considered at the April 1880 meeting. Consequently, Fyfe never received the funds he thought he deserved (Joseph Smith III to Alexander Fyfe, 26 May 1880, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #3, Reorganized Church Library–Archives).
Book Reviews


Reviewed by Marvin S. Hill, professor of history, Brigham Young University.

There is a strange paradox in much of what has been written about Joseph Smith. Believer and disbeliever alike have refused to tolerate human weakness in the man: believers by ignoring or denying any evidence that Joseph ever acted out of human needs or human limitations; disbelievers by disparaging him for imperfection. In the ideological warfare that has largely dominated the historical treatment of the Prophet, one side has seen him as chosen, a saintly spokesman for the Lord whose every word and every act is a divine command or a moral lesson; the other side has reversed that immaculate image and portrayed him as depraved, hedonistic, lustful for power and worldly pleasure, a model of the religious hypocrite and fraud. In approaching Joseph from this absolutistic perspective, the antagonists have allowed the historical Joseph Smith to nearly vanish. The few attempts to break free of these cast-iron moldings have reached but a small number of readers.

Dean Jessee’s new volume, The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith, affords Mormon and non-Mormon readers a chance to look at the sources that Joseph Smith himself produced, material heretofore examined by only a handful of scholars. Here is a perspective of the

1While Francis M. Gibbons, in his recent biography, introduces Joseph Smith by acknowledging his imperfections (vii), his initial chapter argues that the foundation of Joseph’s power was prayer. The implication is that the Lord intervened in answer to those prayers, but more importantly that Joseph, in his conduct, is a role model for the ideal Mormon. No mention is made of the alternative accounts of Joseph’s first vision, nor is anything said about Josiah Stowell’s comment that in 1825, when he met Joseph, Stowell found him not particularly religious. Any money digging activity is emphatically denied. (See Joseph Smith: Martyr, Prophet of God [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977], vii–xii, 45–46.)

2To this day the most widely read biography is Fawn M. Brodie’s No Man Knows My History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945; 2d ed., 1971), which uses the Church’s position on several issues as a foil against which to present contradictory evidence.

3Donna Hill’s Joseph Smith, the First Mormon (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977) attempts a more neutral interpretation. At present her book has sold only 20,000 hardbound copies and an additional 2,000 in paperback. Francis Gibbons’s more traditional biography of Joseph Smith has sold over 40,000 hardbound copies. At this writing, Jessee’s book has sold about 12,000 copies in two printings, and a third has been ordered.
Prophet that has largely escaped us, and it is not surprising that this Joseph does not fit entirely into either of the dichotomous molds. For this reason, The Personal Writings constitutes the most important source book on the Mormon Prophet to be published since B. H. Roberts edited Joseph’s History of the Church just after the turn of the century.

The new volume includes unpublished holographs, dictated manuscripts, and material previously printed but now somewhat inaccessible. Jessee begins by reproducing Joseph’s personal diaries written between 1832 and 1839 and enhances their significance by designating in large type those parts actually written by Joseph himself. As Jessee argues, these afford us a more direct insight into the mind and spirit of the Prophet than do the dictated passages or excerpts lifted from the diaries of others, which make up so much of the History of the Church.

Joseph’s personal notations in his diary hardly support the allegation that he was disingenuous. Rather, they show him to have been deeply committed to his prophetic calling, a missionary, a millennialist, and a leader concerned about his flock, a man dependent upon the Lord in his every undertaking. Some short excerpts illustrate his strongly religious orientation:

[November 27, 1832] Oh may God grant that I may be directed in all my thoughts Oh bless thy Servent Amen

(P. 16)

[October] 6th, [1833] arrived at Springfield [Erie County, Pennsylvania] on the Sabbath... held a meeting at Brother Ruds had a great congregation paid good attention Oh God Seal our te[s]timony—to their hearts Amen—

(P. 17)

Sunday the 13th [October 1833] held a meeting at freeman Nickerson['s] had a large congregation Brother Sidney preached & I bear record to the people the Lord gave his spirit in [a] marvylous maner for which I am thankful.

(P. 18)

November 13th [1833] in the morning at 4 Oh clock I was awoke by Brother Davis knocking at <MY> door saying Brother Joseph come git <UP> and see the signs in the heavens I arrose and beheld to my great Joy the stars fall from heaven yea they fell like hail stones a littel fullfillment of the word of God as recorded in the holy scriptures and a sure sign that the coming of Christ is clost at hand.

(Pp. 20–21)

4 Angle brackets in the quoted passages indicate marginal or interlinear additions to the original manuscript. Dean Jessee’s editorial interpolations are in square brackets. I have omitted manuscript page numbers and line ending indications.
March 1th [1834] there is a small church in this place\textsuperscript{5} that seem to be strong in the faith. Oh may God keep them in the faith and save them and lead them to Zion.

(P. 27)

March 3rd [1834] this morning intend[ed] to start on our Journey to \textit{the} east \textit{BUT} did not start. O may God bless us with the gift of utterance to accomplish the Journey and the Errand on which we are sent.

(P. 28)

September 23th [1835] My heart is full of desire to day, to \textit{BE} blessed of the God, of Abraham; with prosperity, untill I will be able to pay all my depts; for it is \textit{THE} delight of my soul to \textit{BE} honest.

(P. 58)

Tuesday 22d [December 1835] At home Continued my studys O may God give me learning even Language and indo[w] me with qualifications to magnify his name while I live.

(P. 117)

On the other hand, the account of his history written in 1832 shows remarkable candor in Joseph’s admission that he had hoped to profit from the gold plates (7) and then from the publication of the Book of Mormon (228). Contrary to his mother’s recollections, he indicates that he was well read in the scriptures, beginning serious study at the age of twelve. He tells us that he was intimately acquainted with other denominations, that he pondered the existence of God and was persuaded by the argument of design and purpose in the universe, and that even before his First Vision he had concluded that all men had apostatized from the true faith. In his account he did not claim that he was isolated from or oblivious to the forces at work in his culture, nor that he did not endure a personal struggle to discover his religious destiny (4–6).

In the letters which Joseph wrote from 1829 through June 1844, spiritual and religious forces seem evident, as well as those human limitations that all men suffer. In a letter to Hyrum Smith in March 1831, Joseph marveled at the divine power manifest through him:

this morning after being Colled out of my bed in the night to go a small distance I went and had \textit{and} an awful strugle with satan \textit{BUT} being armed with the power of god he was cast out and the woman is Clothed in hir right mind the Lord worketh wonders in this land.

(P. 231)

Joseph’s humility and dependence on the Lord are shown in a letter he wrote to Emma Smith in June 1832:

\textsuperscript{5}Wesleyville, Pennsylvania.
I have visited a grove which is just back of the town almost every day where I can be secluded from the eyes of any mortal and there give vent to all the feelings of my heart in meditation and prayer I have called to mind all the past moments of my life and am left to mourn and shed tears of sorrow for my folly in suffering the adversary of my soul to have so much power over me as he has had in times past but God is merciful and has forgiven my sins and I rejoice that he sends forth the Comforter unto as many as believe and humbleth themselves before him.

(P. 238)

A letter to Emma from New York City in October 1832 reflects Joseph's prophetic perspective. Joseph noted the great buildings and material achievements of the city for which he said the Lord could not be displeased: "only against man is the anger of the Lord kindled because they give him not the glory." He warned that "their iniquities shall visited upon their heads and their works shall be burned up with unquenchable fire." Joseph found repulsive the worldliness he saw beneath the surface: "nothing but the dress of the people makes them look fair and butiful all is deformity their is something in every countenance that is disagreeable with few exceptions." Nonetheless he refused to condemn these people prematurely, saying, "When I reflect upon this great city like Nineveh not deserving their right hand from their left yea more than two hundred souls my bowels is filled with compation towards them and I am determined to lift up my voice in this City and leave the Event with God" (252–53).

Joseph's letters reveal his prevailing pessimism about man, society, and government in the nineteenth century. "The plain fact is this," he told N. C. Saxton, editor of a newspaper in Rochester, New York, in January 1833: "the power of God begins to fall upon the Nations ... and they hastily are preparing to act the part allotted them when the Lord rebukes the nations, when he shall rule them with a rod of iron & break them in peaces like a potters vessel." He warned the editor:

The Lord has declared to his servants some eighteen months since that he was then withdrawing his spirit from the earth, and we can see that such is the fact for not only the churches are dwindling away, but there are no conversions, or but very few, and this is not all, the governments of the earth are thrown into confusion & division, and distraction to the eye of the spiritual beholder seems to be written by the finger of an invisble hand in Large capitals upon almost evry thing we behold—

(P. 272)

Joseph's sense of impending doom and millennial imminence is also evident:
A scene of bloodshed as has not a parallel in the history of our nation. Pestalence, hail, famine, and earthquake will sweep the wicked of this generation from off the face of this land to open and prepare the way for the return of the lost tribes of Israel from the north country—... For there are those now living upon the earth whose eyes shall not be closed in death until they see all these things which I have spoken fulfilled. Remember these things.

(Pp. 273-74)

So much of what Joseph Smith did in building the political kingdom in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois grew out of these pessimistic expectations.

Several letters written in 1833 and 1834 suggest how challenging to his prophetic calling was the news from Zion that the Saints had been forced into an agreement that they would leave Jackson County before the turn of the year. Joseph showed initial uncertainty, in August 1833, as to the reason for the persecution and the remedy, saying, of the redemption of Zion, "god is pleased to keep it hid from mine eyes the means how exactly the thing will be done" (285). He wrote that the persecution was not due to wrongdoing in Missouri but "for the sins of the church." The persecution was to serve as a test and a sign "that all the ends of the earth may know that you are not speculating with them for Lucre but you are willing to die for the cause you have espoused" (286). He concluded with a somewhat cautious commitment to military intervention:

We have had the word of the Lord that you shall [be] delivered from you[r] danger and <SHALL> again flourish in spite of hell... we wait the command of God to do whatever he please and if <HE> shall say go up to Zion and defend thy brotheren by <THE sword> we fly and we count not our live[s] dear to us.

(Pp. 287, 288)

On 10 December 1833, Joseph expressed himself more positively that the Saints would soon be delivered:

God...will not fail to execute Judgment upon your enemies and to avenge his own elect that cry unto him day and night—Behold he will not fail you he will come with ten thousands of his saints and all his advisaries shall be destroyed by the breath of his lips!

(P. 310)

Again, on 30 March, he wrote to Edward Partridge:

God will strike through kings in the day of his wrath but what he will deliver his people; and what do you suppose he could do with a few mobbers in Jackson County, where, ere long, he will set his feet, when earth & heaven shall tremble!

(P. 319)
Yet by the time he had organized Zion's Camp and journeyed to the banks of the Mississippi River, in June 1834, Joseph was aware that he and the Saints would have to settle for much less than the restoration of the evicted Church members. He wrote to Emma at that time:

Our numbers and means are altogether too small for the accomplishment of such a great enterprise, but they are falling daily and our only hope is that whilst we deter the enemy, and terrify them for a little season (for we learn by the means of some spies we send out for that purpose that they are greatly terrified) notwithstanding they are endeavoring to make a formidable stand, and their numbers amount to several hundred.

(Pp. 323-24)

Joseph urged at this point that Church members hurriedly send in men and supplies for the redemption of Zion. But when no further help came, and the cholera hit the elders, Joseph had to abandon his effort and return to Kirtland to endure a hostile reaction by many of the Saints. To counter this, he wrote to the Church leaders in Missouri that "two years from the Eleventh of September next . . . is the appointed time for the redemption of Zion" (330). In his diary he wrote, in September 1835, "we . . . Covena[n]ted to struggle for this thing u[n]till death shall dissolve this union" (59). But circumstances were such in Kirtland and Missouri in 1836 that another attempt at military redemption became impossible, and the matter was deferred to a later day.

There is evidence in these letters of Joseph's continued involvement in treasure hunting. According to Ebenezer Robinson, Joseph was informed by William Burgess that there was money hidden in a cellar of a house in Salem, Massachusetts (349). Worried with debt, Joseph inquired of the Lord and was told, "I will give this city into your hands, that you shall have power over it, insomuch that . . . its wealth pertaining to gold and silver shall be yours" (D&C 111:4). A letter to Emma from Salem, dated 19 August 1836, confirms the accuracy of Ebenezer Robinson's report. Joseph said, "We have found the house since Bro. Burgess left us . . . it will require much care and patience to rent or buy it. We think we shall be able to effect it" (350). Later, in Far West, Joseph encouraged Hyrum Smith to join him in a search for money. Locating an old Indian mound nearby which held promise of treasure, Joseph wrote to Hyrum in May 1838, "Verily thus Saith the Lord unto Hyram Smith if he will come strateaway to Far West and inquire of his brother it shall be shown him how that he may be freed from de[b]t and obtain a grate treasure in the earth even so Amen" (358).

Joseph's letters from Liberty Jail in 1838 reveal his deepest fears of alienation and disloyalty at a time when many of his most faithful
followers were abandoning the faith. He particularly was concerned about Emma's attitude. He wrote her on 4 November 1838, "do not forsake me nor the truth but remember me" (362). In a subsequent letter of 4 April 1839, he told her, "never give up an old tried friend, who has waded through all manner of toil, for your sake, and throw him away becau[se] fools may tell <YOU> he <has> some faults" (427).

Joseph's deep-seated fear that many might abandon him and the faith led him to be more than generous to wayward Saints who had betrayed him in Missouri. In June 1840, he told W. W. Phelps, who had testified against him in Richmond at the preliminary hearing:

Inasmuch as long-suffering patience and mercy have ever characterized the dealings of our heavenly Father towards the humble and penitent, I feel disposed to copy the example. . . .

It is true, that we have suffered much in consequence of your behavior—*the cup of gall already full . . . was indeed filled to overflowing* when you turned against us.  

(P. 472)

But, Joseph added, "having been delivered from the hands of wicked men by the mercy of our God, we say it is your privilidge to be delivered from the power of the Adversary—" (472–73).

However, Joseph had small sympathy for any who directly questioned his authority or would seem to undermine his leadership. When he heard that Almon W. Babbitt was drawing some Saints away to Kirtland, rather than guiding them to Nauvoo, Joseph wrote indignantly: "It is in consequence of aspiring men that Kirtland has been forsaken. How frequently has your humble servant been envied in his office by such characters who endeavoured to raise themselves to power at my expense" (476).

While the early 1840s in Nauvoo were years of progress materially and spiritually, with some of Joseph's greatest revelations coming at this time, still they were also years of trial and inner turmoil. Joseph introduced plural marriage to an increasing number of his most faithful followers and added to the number of his own polygamous relationships. No development in this period has had a greater influence in convincing skeptics that Joseph Smith was a worldly, lustful man. His letter to Sarah Ann Whitney, a new plural wife, written in August 1842, will no doubt be seen as confirmation by some readers. It shows Joseph caught up in a relationship which he seemingly sought to conceal from his wife Emma. In hiding because of a writ issued by Lilburn W. Boggs, Joseph was evidently beset with a terrible loneliness. He wrote to
Brother and Sister Newel K. Whitney and their daughter, Sarah Ann, "my feelings are so strong for you since what has pased lately between us, that the time of my abscence from you seems so long, and dreary, that it seems, as if I could not live long in this way." He urged them to visit him at Carlos Grainger's: "all three of y you come <can> come and See me in the fore part of the night . . . it is the will of God that you should comfort <ME>." Clearly Joseph's desires were not primarily sexual, for he invited the parents to the rendezvous. He desperately needed companionship. But he knew of Emma's increasing jealousy and warned his friends: "the only thing to be careful of; is to find out when Emma comes then you cannot be safe." He added, "Only be careful to escape observation, as much as possible." His fears of exposure were so intense because his life was threatened. He advised, "Burn this letter as soon as you read it; keep all locked up in your breasts, my life depends upon it" (539–40). Plural marriage was a nightmare for Joseph as it generated fears, dangers, and conflicting loyalties which made his prophetic role that much more difficult.

Increasing tension had developed between the Prophet and Emma by 1844, so that it may be that he felt closer to some of his other wives than he did to her. This is suggested by the contrast between what he wrote to Emma and to the Lawrence sisters on the same day, 23 June. He told Emma, "If god ever opens a door that is possible for me I will see you again. I do not know where I shall go, or what I shall do. . . . If you conclude to go to Kirtland, Cincinatti, or any other place, I wish you would contrive to inform me, this evening." He told Maria and Sarah Lawrence, "I want for you to tarry in Cincinnati until you hear from me" (598). He seemed much more certain that he would see Maria and Sarah Lawrence than that he would ever see Emma again.

It is clear from this letter, and another which he wrote to employ lawyer Orville H. Browning for his hearing on 29 June (612), as well as his desperate note to Legion commander Jonathan Dunham, on 27 June, to fly to his rescue (616–17), that Joseph was not resigned to martyrdom on that fateful day. As implacable as were his enemies, as helpless as he was in their midst in Carthage Jail, he still hoped and expected to survive. Joseph Smith was not a quitter, and he relished living too much to surrender it without a fight. When the mob charged up the stairs at Carthage Jail, he fired his pistol three times into the crowd and tried to escape by the window. Never a fatalist, he went down as he had lived, fighting for his rights, his religion, his life, with no quarter given.

Dean Jesser has provided us through this splendid collection a more complete, more complex but also more appealing Joseph. One
does not find evidence here that Joseph Smith was omniscient, that he had overcome all his human limitations. He was beset with uncertainties about the future, about his friends and enemies, about the success of his cause, about the preservation of his life. But neither does one find here any evidence that Joseph was a religious pretender, so wicked that the Lord could not have used him as an instrument of gospel restoration. This is a Joseph Smith from whom all may benefit by knowing him better. Dean Jessee has made the quest for the historical Joseph less difficult than it has been.


Reviewed by Carl fred Broderick, clinical director, Broderick and Wood Marriage and Family Counseling, Inc., Cypress, California.

Though published as a single volume, this is really two books. The first consists of fourteen chapters by Madsen (subtitled “for philosophical”), and the second consists of fifteen chapters by Covey (subtitled “for practical”). Actually, as might be imagined, there is much of both philosophical and practical value in each half. In fact, any couple that comes away from reading this book without gaining anything of importance should be ashamed of themselves.

Speaking for myself, I found the first book easier to read. Truman Madsen sings to my spirit. His intellect flirts and soars and tickles. I love the richly instructive quotes he has gleaned from the writings of Church leaders, and I love his own vivid eloquence.

Stephen Covey’s solid contribution suffers by comparison, probably, I think, from his having drawn the short straw. I enjoy him most when he, too, is trilling in a philosophical register. In this duet, however (if I may be indulged in continuing the metaphor), his assignment is the equally necessary but less melodic bass part—the practical rules of successful family management. A major portion of his text consists of a serious-minded consideration of the principles of successful organization. These are presented in the form of lists interspersed with multi-arrowed diagrams. I liked best the anecdotal illustrations drawn from his own family experiences. Even these, however, like the lists they are intended to illuminate, seem to have lost some of their freshness, having become overpolished from much retelling. (This is, alas, the bane of all circuit-riding educators, the present reviewer not excepted.)

Despite these stylistic caveats, I enjoyed the book. The material it covers is important, and the treatment given the material is helpful. In
many cases I felt motivated to do better in my own family relationships. If we followed these precepts—a mixture of gospel principles and business management guidelines—I am confident that we would prosper, both as aspiring celestial families and as basic managerial units. That is a lot for one book to accomplish.


Reviewed by Charles S. Peterson, professor of history at Utah State University and editor of The Western Historical Quarterly.

This small volume examines Zane Grey’s interest in Arizona and surrounding areas and assesses the role Arizona played in shaping his attitudes, as well as the attitudes of his readers and of moviegoers who saw films made from his novels. According to Kandace C. Kant, Arizona made a powerful impression on Grey. Grey, in his turn, by combining the spell it cast over him with nostalgia, optimism, romanticism, and strong but simplistic feelings about nationalism, race, and relations between the sexes, did much to place Arizona at the heart of the national perception of the West.

A foreword by Grey’s son Loren makes use of his father’s description of canyon scenery to establish a feeling for Grey’s writing and spirit. Kant follows with an introduction that makes Grey a child of the turn-of-the-century era, showing how he was influenced by social Darwinism, progressivism, and a longing for values that were slipping away. Grey’s Arizona experience is organized under chapters entitled “Canyon,” “Reservation,” “Desert,” and “Forest.” His books dealing respectively with the canyon lands, the reservation, the borderlands, and the Tonto Basin are then considered. The concluding chapters deal with Grey’s role in promoting the 113 films that were based on his writing, the impact of those films, and the Zane Grey legend that emerged from both the novels and the movies. The final paragraphs chronicle Grey’s growing disenchantment with Arizona as it changed, and more importantly, one might speculate, as his initial responses were tempered with more realistic views.

Kant’s work is successful in its organization and presentation. There can be no doubt that Arizona was central to Grey’s regional interests nor that he did much to enhance the state’s image throughout America. As one who grew up between Grey’s canyon country and Tonto Basin locales, I well recall my own sense that I was at the heart of the West. To my youthful mind it seemed an almost unbelievable stroke of good fortune.
However, Kant’s effort to put Grey entirely into the perspective of the political boundaries of a single state detracts from both her presentation of his interests and the accuracy of her book. Where the canyon country was concerned, at least, Grey’s interest was attached to topography and extended well into Utah. Beginning with Loren Grey’s foreword, descriptions that clearly pertain to Utah appear in Kant’s analysis. While it is true that Fredonia is on the Arizona Strip and hence an Arizona Mormon village, and that Grey had opportunity to observe Mormons elsewhere in Arizona, his Mormon treatment is clearly tied to Utah. Kant mentions at least three books, *Heritage of the Desert*, *Riders of the Purple Sage*, and *The Rainbow Trail*, that deal with Mormons and with Colorado Plateau Mormon country. But this by no means completes the list of Grey’s Utah references. Other important books based at least partly in Utah include *Wild Horse Mesa* and *Arizona Ames*. In them Grey ranges well north of the Arizona border.

My Arizona background notwithstanding, I will confess to a little pique at the spirit of Arizona expansiveness that in Kant, as so often in the pages and photographs of *Arizona Highways*, follows geography beyond state boundaries and, without a by-your-leave to poetic license or anything, claims Utah for Arizona. The extension of Grey’s interests beyond political boundaries is apparent not only in his own preoccupation with the scenic wonders of Utah but also, interestingly enough, in the people Kant tells us influenced Grey most deeply in his views of the canyon country. These were James Emmett and David Rust. Both were Mormons. Rust lived at Kanab and outfitted pack trips. Emmett lived at Lee’s Ferry when Grey knew him, but had spent most of his life in Utah.

The significant point here is that in Zane Grey, and now in Kant, what may be called the literature of southwestern regionalism extends to southern Utah. Grey and others who like him trafficked in romantic settings peopled by heroic figures influenced the way southern Utah is looked at, enriching its imagery and relating it to the Southwest generally. This is a perspective lacking in the Mormon and anti-Mormon idiom of much Utah writing.

There has been a tendency in Utah to take umbrage at Grey’s portrayal of the Mormons. Kant, it seems to me, frees us from this defensive posture. She points out Grey’s acknowledgment of indebtedness to James Emmett as she does his progression from profound respect for Mormon pioneering to denunciation of Mormons as polygamist conspirators to a return to a more favorable view. One is inclined to accept Kant’s conclusion that, overall, Mormons do not come off badly in Grey’s canyon country writing. On the other hand, there is
little evidence, either in Grey's own writing or in Kant's, that his quick trips allowed him to see deeply into Mormon society. Indeed, one is disappointed at how little he really saw and reflected. This is particularly apparent in Grey's essay about Emmett ("The Man Who Influenced Me Most," in the American Magazine, August 1926), of which Kant makes much. Actually, the article reveals little of how Emmett was a role model, and indeed it is generally a quick little item which sought to capitalize on a lion-catching expedition Grey and Emmett made on the Kaibab Plateau.

All told, however, Kant's work is a welcome addition to southwestern studies. Scholarship is sound, style appealing. The book is nicely gotten out and enhanced by carefully chosen photographs. Certainly our understanding of Grey's writing is increased. We have occasion to contemplate again his influence on the images of our region and, to some degree, see in him our own flaws and strengths. Zane Grey gets as much as he deserves in the book, as no doubt does Arizona. But while Kant makes no specific point of it, her book provides insight into broader regional connections.


Reviewed by Jessie L. Embry, director of the oral history program at the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University and executive secretary of the Mormon History Association.

I was pleased to discover a biography of Ellis Shipp published by Bookcraft. Many nineteenth-century Mormon women, like Dr. Shipp, played an important role in Utah history but have not been studied extensively. It was especially pleasing to see such a biography released by one of the largest publishers of Mormon materials.

Unfortunately, as I started reading, my enthusiasm vanished. This is not a first-rate biography but rather a composite of currently popular types in the Mormon market. First, it is simply, as the title suggests, an "inspiring story of Ellis Shipp." It views Dr. Shipp in a vacuum, with no attempt to interpret her life in terms of her own experiences or the way she reacted to the world around her. Then, the flowery language, such as "so the youthful years passed for Ellis, colored by her own passion and poetry" (22), reads like some of the recent Mormon novels of love and romance. (I refer to them as Mormon harlequins because they have all the elements of a Harlequin Romance except that the love scenes are not as vivid.) The only difference
between these novels and Not in Vain is that Dr. Shipp was a historical figure, not just a product of the author’s imagination. But like Keith and Ann Terry’s books on Emma Smith and Eliza R. Snow, this is merely a dramatization of a woman’s life, not a complete history. McCloud tells Dr. Shipp’s story by inventing dialogue so that the story reads like a novel and by guessing how Shipp and the other characters felt when she has no sources to support her sentimental interpretations. Finally, Not in Vain reads like an amateur family history where the main goal is to glorify the ancestor. McCloud includes long quotes from Shipp’s autobiography and journals as if she were afraid to leave out any word that flew from Dr. Shipp’s golden pen. In the concluding chapter, she quotes extensively from Shipp’s obituaries and funeral so that she will not miss any of Shipp’s good qualities. In fact, the book reads so much like a family history that I kept checking to see if McCloud were related.

The dust cover claims that McCloud has done “meticulous research,” but the footnotes do not support that claim. The only sources McCloud used were the personal writings of Shipp, published works about Utah women in medicine, and community histories. To me, “meticulous research” would be reading countless stake and ward Relief Society minutes to find out more about the nursing classes Shipp taught, examining the journals of women who took those courses and the diaries of women Dr. Shipp assisted, reviewing medical records, and interviewing family members and others who remembered Ellis Shipp. For example, if Shipp said she never lost a mother in childbirth, the researcher could have examined birth and death records to see if a mother ever died just after Dr. Shipp delivered her baby. The possible negative evidence gathered from such a search would be just as valuable as the positive evidence of how much the women appreciated her assistance.

The real damage done by such a book as this goes beyond the skimpy research, the ornate language, the undocumented statements that make Not in Vain more of a historical novel than a biography. The danger is that many Mormons will consider this a good biography, maybe even the last word on Ellis Shipp. But we still need a carefully researched and critically examined study of her life. Writing such a biography will not be easy, but I hope such a book will still be written. I hope, too, that a publisher like Bookcraft will recognize the difference and be willing to market it.

Reviewed by Samuel W. Taylor, a writer who lives in Redwood City, California.

You can't tell a book by its cover, but you can judge its worth in my personal library by its position. Mormon Gold isn't on my coffee table, which is reserved for large and flashy works, such as a picture book of old-time auto-MO-biles, to impress guests. Nor does it rate space on the breakfront shelf, reserved for my own works. We have two bookcases in the living room, while the entry hall is lined with bookshelves containing books of author friends and titles such as Complete Works of Shakespeare and The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, which I hope to read someday. (A friend of mine read the latter over a period of eight years in the bathroom; but we have no books there.)

Mormon Gold doesn't fit anywhere in the house. It is in my office, where I toil with two typewriters (one for spiritual material, the other for profane). All four walls have bookshelves. To gain shelf space here means a book is of permanent value, and I will tell you that the author of Mormon Gold has literally left no stone unturned in recounting all there is to know about Mormons and the California gold rush. The depth of his research is incredible.

And he has filled the book with nuggets:

Following the discovery of gold by members of the Mormon Battalion, Brigham Young preached against the lure of gold and in fact prohibited all prospecting and mining by the Saints. However, he actively participated in the gold rush by calling men to go to the diggings. He dispatched Apostles Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich to oversee the mining and to collect tithes, while Apostle Orson Hyde made headquarters at a way station in Carson City for the same purpose.

More than $80,000 in gold was delivered to Brigham Young's gold accounts during just three years, 1848-52, while individuals used private funds from the diggings to purchase much-needed supplies for the Utah Saints. In fact, "had it not been for these 19th Century Mormon Argonauts," the author states, "the infant Mormon economy might well have foundered" (xv).

Subsequently, President John Taylor sent George Q. Cannon to California as his personal gold missionary.

The book has two fascinating maps with place-names which indicate the prominence of the Saints at the diggings: Mormon Station,
Mormon Ravine, Mormon Bar, Mormon Island, Mormon Tavern, and the Mormon Emigration Trail, while Brown’s Settlement, Salt Lake Trading Company, and Rhodes’s Diggings were operated by Saints.

Similar nuggets can be gleaned from many of the twenty-five chapters.

However, no book is perfect (not even my own), and Kenneth Davies’s determination to include details of absolutely every Mormon known or reputed to have gone to the diggings makes the reader wonder if this is really more than he wants to know about the subject. Here I don’t fault Davies so much as his editor, who might have said, “Hey, this is good stuff, but you’ve got to cut it by 50,000 words.” A shock for an author, I admit, for it happened to me with the manuscript of Nightfall at Nauvoo. But my book was improved by tightening. Nobody misses what was left out. And my good friend Frank C. Robertson, author of many western novels, told me many years ago that a book was successful more from what you leave out than put in.

An author criticizes a book from the viewpoint of how he would have done it; what I miss in Mormon Gold is the word-of-mouth anecdotes that add spice and zest to the story. For example, we have heard the tale of how Amasa Lyman, accompanied by the most feared gunman of the frontier, Porter Rockwell, called at Sam Brannan’s saloon in Sacramento to collect tithing from Sam’s fabulously profitable operations and also to recover the gold which Brannan had levied against LDS miners as tithes. When Brannan flatly refused to surrender a single ounce of dust, Rockwell produced a hogleg as persuader. “Sam, we come for the Lord’s money.”

Looking at the sawed-off barrel of the pistol held by a zealot who freely admitted to killing more than a hundred men (“But nobody who didn’t deserve it”), Sam showed the stuff he was made of.

“Tell you what, Port,” Brannan said, without turning a hair. “I’ll give you the Lord’s money if you’ll give me a receipt signed by the Lord.”

Boggled, Rockwell allowed Lyman to lead him away.

In Mormon Gold this choice anecdote is given two lines, then rejected because the author couldn’t find any written record of it in a journal, letter, or other primary source. Well, okay; but if we don’t accept stories based on oral legends we’ll have to reject some important works, one being the New Testament. In my own research, I’ve found that verbal anecdotes from several sources will vary in exact wording and minor detail, but agree on basic truth.

Another anecdote I missed is Parley Pratt’s malediction of Sam Brannan, who became California’s first millionaire from the gold rush.
Parley found his missionary labors in San Francisco hampered by dire poverty. He and two wives lived in a hovel on Pacific Street, sometimes going hungry. Parley Pratt and Sam Brannan had been friends years previously and were associates in publishing *The Prophet* in New York, before Brannan sailed with a shipload of Saints in the *Brooklyn* to San Francisco Bay. Brannan’s mother-in-law, Fanny Corwin, attended church services which Parley held, and Parley suggested to her that his old friend and fellow Saint might contribute a few dollars to assist the mission.

When Fanny relayed this to Brannan, Sam retorted, “You can tell Parley Pratt that if he needs money he can come to me and ask for it.”

Fanny relayed this message to Parley at next Sunday’s services. “Sister Corwin, I am not a beggar,” he stated. “And you may tell Sam Brannan that he may be a Midas now, but the day will come when he will want for a dime to buy a loaf of bread.” And this proved an accurate prediction.

But enough of carping criticism. *Mormon Gold*’s solid scholarship has won a favored position in my library, and for scholars, students, history buffs, western fans, trivia freaks, the Salt Lake samizdat coterie, and members of the far-flung Taylor Spy Network, I recommend it.


Reviewed by Richard H. Cracroft, professor of English and dean of the College of Humanities at Brigham Young University.

*The Price* is a moving and very readable book about idealism, about suffering, and endurance, and surviving—and about Karl–Heinz Schnibbe, now a resident of Salt Lake City, who experienced all of this during his and Germany’s darkest years. The price which Schnibbe and his companions, all teenagers, had to pay for their idealism amounted to a very real nightmare fraught with horrors which ranged from prison, slave labor in Germany and the USSR, and unbelievable depths and heights in human cruelty and kindness, to near-starvation and, for Helmuth Huebener, execution by decapitation. Schnibbe survived to tell the gripping story.

“Helmuth Huebener is the hero of this book,” declares Schnibbe in his preface. But while Huebener’s bright, bold, even audacious spirit is the catalyst which stirs the book’s events to a boil, the book is not so much the story of Helmuth Huebener as of Karl–Heinz Schnibbe. Schnibbe impulsively stumbled into the intrigue-*cum*-adventure
masterminded by the courageous and idealistic seventeen-year-old Huebener and participated with him and Rudi Wobbe, both fellow Mormons, along with Gerhard Duewer, in listening to forbidden BBC broadcasts and in distributing throughout Hamburg carefully prepared anti-Nazi leaflets (produced on the LDS branch typewriter, duplicating machine, and paper) packed with statements and sentiments generally based on those broadcasts.

The group was arrested by the Gestapo in February 1942, incarcerated in the Alt-Moabit Prison in Berlin, tried before the Volksgerichtshof for treason, and given multiyear prison sentences, with Huebener receiving the death penalty. “You kill me for no reason at all,” said Huebener on hearing his sentence. “I haven’t committed any crime. All I’ve done is tell the truth. Now it’s my turn—but your turn will come!”(54).

Huebener, excommunicated from the LDS church by a branch president who feared Nazi reprisals on members of the Church, was beheaded on 27 October 1942, in Ploetzensee Prison in Berlin (his body was turned over to medical scientists for experimentation). His excommunication and execution raise the age-old question of loyalties to principles or principalities, and two recent plays about Huebener have touched deeply on these questions and sensibilities. (Incidentally, Huebener was posthumously reinstated to membership in the Church on 11 November 1946, with “Excommunication Done By Mistake” written across his membership record.)

But if The Price is the story of Helmuth Huebener, then it is too soon told and, unfortunately but necessarily, in too little detail, primarily because most of the court records, the letters from Huebener to relatives and friends, and even the relatives themselves were destroyed in devastating Allied bombings. The Price, a title which sits uncomfortably on this book, failing as it does to weave the title image into the narrative, becomes of necessity the story of the nightmare which collaboration with Huebener produced in the life of Karl-Heinz Schnibbe. Indeed, it is the simple, even matter-of-fact, manner in which Schnibbe (with the assistance of BYU Germanists Alan F. Keele and Douglas F. Tobler) tells his engrossing narrative that startles the reader to awareness that, in the words of Huck Finn, “Human beings can be awful cruel to one another,” and reinforces a determination that humanity must never again be subjected to such nightmares.

Although the account avoids reciting much of Schnibbe’s inner drama and skips over years at a time of prison ordeals, the authors have packed into the too-few pages some tantalizingly rich detail about the life of a political prisoner in Glasmoor and Graudenz prison camps. For
example, the book tells vividly of fish soup with "sixty thousand eyes" (a grisly concoction full of intact minnows), of kindly prison camp doctors, of vicious and senseless beatings, of frozen prisoners in forty-five degree below zero weather (Schnibbe slept by one man, grumbling at the fellow's lack of sociability, only to find he had frozen to death several days before), and, increasingly, of harrowing Allied bombing raids.

Four weeks before the end of the war, Schnibbe was drafted into the army (Wobbe and Duewer remained in prison) and was sent, without uniform or weapons, to the Russian front. He arrived with his ragtag unit at the front just in time to surrender to the Russians, who shipped the POWs deep into the Soviet Union to Bokhvisnevo and, later, Yablonka. There Schnibbe lived through four additional years of hard labor on a daily diet of one pound of bread, malt coffee, and some occasional frozen potatoes. When he was released in 1949 (only after his buttocks had disappeared, the ultimate signal for repatriation), he weighed 104 pounds, on a six-foot-two-inch frame. Broken in health but bolstered by some unexpected and heartwarming human relationships with his Russian captors, Schnibbe made his way back to Hamburg and hospital rehabilitation, which gradually healed his body but did little for the emotional scars of seven years of physical and mental torture.

The story ends as happily as one could hope for a man so nearly destroyed. One puts down the book wishing for more: more specific detail about Huebener, Wobbe, and Duewer; more about the relationship of these events to major events in Germany, the Soviet Union, and the world; more insight into Schnibbe's feelings; more understanding about how he steeled himself emotionally and spiritually against the daily terrors of his prison experience. It would be interesting, for example, to probe Schnibbe's lack of reference to his religious faith in God until very near the end of his ordeal. Unfortunately, it is only at the end of the book that we are permitted a glimpse into Schnibbe, to see that his emotions were indeed ravaged and his ability to function as a human being permanently scarred. Too often, the authors' attempts to conceal emotion behind Hemingway-like terseness succeed all too well in concealing and not in revealing, and the reader longs for more detail than Bookcraft-Deseret Book-type packaging will allow. But it is, after all, a kind of compliment when readers wish for more, instead of less, and the authors deserve praise for wedging so much engrossing material into so little space.

A friend of mine recounts how World War II took on a more personal and terrible meaning when his friend, a Mormon trained as a
commando, decapitated a German guard, only to find a copy of the Book of Mormon in the dead man's pocket. By recounting his remarkable story, Karl-Heinz Schnibbe has created a similar effect for the sensitive reader, transforming as he does (albeit implicitly) the twelfth article of faith into a question, and explicitly making personal sacrifice for a cause come unforgettably to life. *The Price*, well worth the slight monetary price, gives Mormons some new heroes and brings us into the fray in unaccustomed but very respectable ways, ways of which we may be very proud. Helmuth Huebener, who died in the nightmare, and Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, who endured it, have created a significant memorial before which each of us should lay a wreath of honor.
Call for Papers:  
Special Issue on British Isles

*BYU Studies* is pleased to announce a forthcoming special issue devoted to the LDS church in the British Isles. The issue will be published in 1987 in conjunction with the Sesquicentennial of the Church in Britain. Dr. James R. Moss of the Church History Department at Brigham Young University has been appointed guest editor.

Those interested in submitting articles for publication in this issue should send them to Dr. James R. Moss, 136 JSB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602.

Articles may be on any aspect of LDS church history in the British Isles from the beginning to the present or may focus on current issues of concern to the Church and its members in Britain. Deadline for submission of articles is 31 December 1986.

This special issue will be one of many activities planned by the Church, Brigham Young University, and other organizations to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Church in the British Isles. We encourage your participation in these events and hope many of you will submit articles for publication.
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